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ENGLISH BIBLICAL CRITICISM,

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THE PENTATEUCH,

FROM A GERMAN POINT OF VIEW,

BY

JOHN MUEHLEISEN-ARNOLD, B.D.,

HONORARY SECRETARY TO THE MOSLEM MISSION SOCIETY.

Arnold

Recte dixit Hieronymus:—"Unusquisque offert ad tabernaculum Domini quod potest, alius aurum, argentum, gemmas, alius pelles aut pilos caprarum. Omnibus enim his opus habet Dominus, et placet voluntas aequaliter eorum qui inaequaliter offerunt." Quare et hos pilos exiguos caprarum mearum edi permitto in offertorium et sacrificium Dei.

Lutherus Praef. ad Genesin.

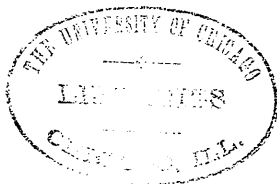
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1864.



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THERE are only two points in which this Edition materially differs from that published three months ago:—First, the paragraph on the “Unity of the first three chapters of Genesis,” is very considerably enlarged, and it is hoped, that this addition will render the volume less incomplete and more deserving of the reception, it has already received. Secondly, it will be noticed that this treatise on the Unity and Authorship of the PENTATEUCH, which forms a subject altogether distinct and complete in itself, appears now in a separate form, and no longer as the first volume of a series.

German theological literature has by no means degenerated since 1846, when the Bishop of London first published a favourable estimate of its value, and the important service, it was likely to render. Dr. Tait then remarked in his “Suggestions to Theological Students,” that “Germany has to boast of writers in almost every department of theology, who unite the deepest learning with a sound and earnest Christian faith.” And he adds, that “it is to such writers we shall be mainly indebted if the infidelity which is so commonly associated with their country, be smitten and overthrown.”

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It is generally admitted by English divines, that in exact proportion as the several replies to the recent productions of the Anglo-German Neologian School indicate an accurate acquaintance with German Theology, they bear the marks of true scholarship and ability ; hence in earnestly contending for the faith, the so-called traditionary party cannot be reproached with having a “zeal of God, but not according to knowledge.”

It is fervently hoped that this small volume will further point out the wide difference between German Divinity and the so-called “*vulgäre Rationalismus*” of Germany, which now so meretriciously displays itself in England, under the specious title of BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

East Ham, E., May 24, 1864.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE only apology, the writer of these pages can offer for making them public, is his having some acquaintance with German theological Literature. Without such acquaintance, the real character and tendency of Biblical Criticism, as now shaping itself in this country, can never be correctly estimated.

In order to justify his attempt to sift and reproduce German thought upon the great theological question of the day, the author feels it right to state, that he was born and educated in Germany; and of the four degrees, acquired at German Universities, the last one empowers him to fill a chair as Professor of Divinity at any Protestant University on the Continent.

No small benefit has further accrued to him from personal intercourse with most of the leading German Divines, who have either asserted or disputed the authenticity and historical veracity of the Pentateuch, not excluding the late Dr. de Wette, whose far-spread opinions underwent considerable

modification during the latter end of his life. In justice to that scholar, and for the interest of truth, it is much to be regretted that he did not live to append to his published works, his last and ripest views.

The writer is particularly indebted to his kind friends, Dr. Wilhelm Hoffmann—heretofore distinguished as Professor of Theology, and for some years past *General-Superintendent* of ecclesiastical affairs, and *Hofprediger* to the Court of Prussia—and to Dr. Oehler, the eminent Professor of Divinity at the University of Tübingen, for their valuable advice and encouragement in this undertaking.

Dr. Hoffmann is intimately acquainted with the Theology of the Church of England, and, like most German Divines, he anticipates real benefit, rather than danger, from her approaching trial. He says:—“*Werke wie die des Bischof's Colenso, deuten auf Schüden in der bisherigen Theologie, und ohne diese Schüden durch ächtes Neues in der Erkenntniss zu bessern, wird mit den Vertheidigungen nichts geschafft werden; eben so wenig durch Processe und Absetzungen, so nothwendig diese an sich auch sind.*”

The sad position of Dr. Strauss—the boldest champion of the *mythical* principle, as now applied to the Pentateuch in England—may serve as a striking illustration of the general disrepute into which the school of negative critics in Germany has fallen. When effectually repulsed in his attack upon the

historical veracity of the Gospels, among others by Dr. Hoffmann, his former College friend at Tübingen, Dr. Strauss withdrew from theological controversy, married an actress and betook himself to novel-writing !

Excepting a few isolated stragglers, such as Ewald and Hupfeld—who now seek in this country the sympathy which they have forfeited in their own—German Divines have, as a body, recovered from the distemper of theological scepticism : and if wise, we shall not disdain to benefit by their dear-bought experience, when symptoms of the same malady can be no longer disguised among ourselves. Since what is now deemed poison in Germany, has been admitted into England, it is earnestly hoped that the antidote, which proverbially grows in the same soil, may not be unfairly excluded.

With this hope, the following abstract of German thought is humbly and cordially inscribed to each and all of that noble band of conscientious fellow-labourers, to whose united efforts the Church in these realms will have to look for deliverance from the supremacy of a dormant Orthodoxy, and for protection against the tyranny of a rationalistic and hypercritical Neology.

J. M. A.

EAST HAM, E., *Jan. 8th*, 1864.

CHAPTER I.

THE THEOLOGICAL CRISIS.

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ALMIGHTY and everlasting God, who *for the more confirmation of the faith* didst suffer thy Holy Apostle Thomas to be doubtful in thy Son's resurrection; Grant us so perfectly, and without all doubt, to believe in thy Son Jesus Christ, *that our faith in thy sight may never be reprov'd.* Hear us, O Lord, through the same Jesus Christ, to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, now and for evermore.
Amen.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. The root of the matter. § 2. Romanism, Protestantism, and Rationalism. § 3. Heterodox defection of Protestant orthodoxy. § 4. Legitimate and illegitimate Biblical criticism. § 5. Ancient and modern attacks upon the Pentateuch. § 6. History or myths in the Pentateuch. § 7. Supposed analogy in Greek and Hebrew literature. § 8. Contrast of the Pentateuch and the Homeric poems. § 9. The gravity of the approaching crisis and its benefits.

§ 1. THE ROOT OF THE MATTER.

Within our recollection most of the literary remains of classical antiquity have had to submit to the dissecting knife of a critical anatomy, and the result has been, that in all cases a mythological era was found to have preceded the historical epoch.

Hence it was argued with some plausibility, that if mythological fiction anticipated historical truth amongst the Egyptians, Hindoos, Chinese, Greeks, and Romans, why should the Hebrews with their literature, history, and religion be alone exempted from what appears to have been a general law of antiquity; and why should *they* pretend to have a different beginning from all other ancient nations?

The apparently just and wise principle of levelling the whole surface of antiquity possessed a singular charm, on account of the supposed advantages connected with it. It afforded the much desired opportunity of pruning the superstitious and supernatural element from what were termed, the unreasoning and uncritical ages of man's existence. The time was felt to have come when childish things were to be put away, and a

prospect at last was opened of acquiring what this intellectual age had long desired, *i.e.*, a faith without miracles, a creed without mystery, and a religion without the stern authority of historical veracity.

The great struggle of Neology is, to substitute what is called a spiritual, for an historical Christianity. This new school magnifies what are denominated the *truths*, whilst it strives to question the great historical *facts* of revealed Religion. The historical facts of Judaism and Christianity are to be dissolved, and for an historical Judaism, and an historical Christianity we are required to receive an ideal Judaism, and an ideal Christianity. Revealed truth, as held in its historical acceptation, is reduced to a disembodied spirit, a mere phantom, hovering above the world, unseen, and unfelt, save when and where these critics may deem fit to bestow upon it a visible or tangible shape.

This criticism imagines that in removing the historical frame-work of the Bible, it only removes the scaffolding which never formed part of the plan, and which has not only become superfluous but obstructs a full view of the glorious temple of truth. We are given to understand that grave difficulties exist in the Bible, unless we adopt a mythical, allegorical or philosophical explanation; and to abandon the historical veracity is considered equivalent to removing the stumbling-blocks which would impede its more rapid triumph.

When Dr. David Strauss pushed the principles of the Higher Criticism to their legitimate conclusion in declaring the Gospel a myth, and in substituting an ideal for an historical Christ, he accompanied the critical operation with this consolatory assurance:—"No fear that Christ should be lost to us, if we feel compelled to surrender much that hitherto passed under the name of Christianity. Christ remains to us with the more certainty, the less we hold fast doctrines and opinions

which may become a stumbling-block to thinking heads, and cause many to fall away from Christ."

The latest representative of this negative criticism who treats the Pentateuch in England, as Strauss had treated the Gospel in Germany, claims not only to be the champion of ancient truth and modern enlightenment, but he professes to be a Christian of more than ordinary earnestness, although he proclaims the Mosaic substructure of Christianity to be mythical in its character. What gives this entire movement such a plausible appearance is, its ostentatious programme. It offers to release Christianity from the bondage of the letter; to emancipate the Gospel religion from all obstructive forms and fetters, supposed to have been forged in days of a blissful ignorance and uncritical simplicity; and to sift our Bible, our creeds and articles, till modern thought, which is represented as having outgrown the original provisions, could cordially accept them in a readjusted form. And what could be more to the taste of this generation, than this scheme of hastening the advent of the Jubilee of human reason!

It can scarcely be expected in these prefatory remarks that we should lay bare the great fallacy upon which the entire *apparatus criticus* is planted. But there is one point which cannot pass unnoticed, even at the outset of this examination of the principles of the Higher Criticism. In the effort to separate doctrine and morality from history, and history from doctrine and morality, a great fact is overlooked in England which in Germany was early detected, *i.e.*, that *if there be no history there can be no truth in the Pentateuch*. Again, Christianity will not only require a slight re-adjustment, but the historical veracity of the Pentateuch is so intimately connected with that of the Gospel, that if the former cannot be maintained, both must stand and fall together.

It was admitted, at an early period of the movement in

Germany, that with the passage of the Red Sea, must fall the Resurrection of Christ. Bauer constructed a mythology of the New, immediately after he had finished his mythology of the Old Testament. De Wette asserted at an early stage that the mythical principle applied to the Pentateuch must, to be consistent, be applied to the Gospel, and though now dead, he lived to see it.

This was natural. The Old Testament presents the shadow, the New Testament the substance. If the temptation of Israel for forty years in the wilderness be a myth, the temptation of Christ for forty days in the desert cannot be historically true. If the appearance of angels be mythical in the Pentateuch, the appearance of angels in the Gospel cannot be historical. For can we consistently believe the miracles of the New, and reject the miracles of the Old Testament?

Such a sharp transition from mythical fiction to historical truth is preposterous. Or shall we assume that the Gospel myths, like coming events, have cast their shadows before them in the Pentateuch, in the same way as a typical dispensation preceded Christianity with its fulfilment? Such an hypothesis would be contrary to all psychological principle. Yet so reluctant was German Neology to recognise its precarious position, that it was for some years believed possible, that we might yield the Pentateuch, and yet save the Gospel; reject Moses, and yet believe in Christ; condemn the roots of the tree, and yet extol the branches.

The "Leben Jesu," by David Strauss, which has just now re-appeared, dispelled the strange delusion. He takes special pains to show that the Mosaic element in the Gospel is so prominent, that whosoever yielded the historical veracity of the one, could not hope to conserve the other. The principles too, applied to the one, were the principles applied to the other, and the result in both cases must inevitably be the same.

We venture to add, that it would prove a radical gain for Theology even in a scientific, or mere literary point of view; were the principles of the so-called Higher Criticism more critically examined, before they are applied either to the Pentateuch or to the Gospel. Let the tests themselves be tested before they are applied to the sacred documents.

§ 2. ROMANISM, PROTESTANTISM, AND RATIONALISM.

It seems to be characteristic of the Neologians to profess to know all, and to believe nothing. But they fancy they are safe against orthodox criticism. Call not our principles dangerous, say they, nor suspect us as infidels in disguise, we are simply carrying out the *noble* principles of the blessed Reformation! In this they are one with the Roman Catholics. Both recognise in Rationalism the natural and necessary development of the principles of the Reformation. The desire to be emancipated from the authority of the Bible, is stated to have grown out of the desire to be emancipated from ecclesiastical restraint. But this subtlety of the one party to justify its unwarrantable criticisms, and of the other to justify its animosity to the Reformation, has strangely overreached and outwitted itself. The joint argument of Romanists and Neologians only reaches the form, not the substance of the case before us.

Rationalism and Protestantism have this one important feature in common, that both struggle for liberty. In both we have the element of *protesting*. But when we have admitted thus much we have stated the whole case. *Gravida et pariens est sicut aegrota et moriens*. Both processes of nature here named are stated to be alike, yet the first of the two may aptly illustrate the character of the Reformation, whilst the second strikingly expresses the essential features of Rationalism.

We admit that in the first dawn of Christianity no less than in the Reformation, there was the same protest against *human* tradition, ecclesiastical ordinances, and theological opinions, which had surrounded or supplanted the truth: in Christianity, it was the bringing to maturity existing principles, and the setting free of Revelation from national trammels and restrictions no longer needed: in the Reformation, we have a simple return to a more primitive order of things, a *bonâ fide* re-formation of what had become a most grievous *de*-formation of doctrine and ritual.

Neology is neither in the position of Christianity on its first formation, nor in that of its Reformation. It neither carries out existing principles by bursting the shell to release the kernel, nor is it a process of reforming what had become deformed. It is, on the contrary, a perfectly *new* element, a new teaching, a new doctrine, as its name implies. Neology is not a protestation in the name and on behalf of divine truth, against human tradition, but it protests against Revelation itself in the name and on behalf of human reason. The principles of the Reformation and modern scepticism are therefore totally different; and, paradoxical as it may seem, Neology has much more in common with the character of Popery than with the principles of the Reformation. As soon as we depart from the safe canon of Scripture, it will be a mere matter of accident, whether we next submit to an infallible super-rational Popery, or fall a prey to a sceptical unbelief, which places divine truth under the control of an infallible super-rational reason. This surely establishes the close affinity, not of the Reformation and Neology, but of Rationalism and Popery. And the recollection of this close affinity in principle will clear up the mystery of the sudden transition from superstition to infidelity, or *vice versa*, a conversion from Atheism to Popery which is so frequently observed. (1)

The only apparent difference is, that in Romanism this pseudo—infallible authority assumes a persistent, powerful, and consistent form, whilst in Neology it remains weak, changeable, and powerless. In the one case *human tradition*, in the other *human speculation* dominates over the authority of the Scriptures. Hence the Reformation is as much opposed to Rationalism as it is to Romanism; and the stale objection that the Reformation fosters Neology, and is to be held responsible for its work of destruction is utterly inadmissible. In vain is therefore the expectation of the Church of Rome, that Protestantism and Rationalism will tamely submit to be harnessed together, to drag her triumphal chariot through the world.

The Reformation and Neology sprang from quite opposite quarters. So far from Neology starting out of the principles of the Reformation, its very life and prosperity depends upon the overthrow or the weakening of the main pillars of Protestant Christianity. The Reformation prospered upon the restoring of the Bible, Neology can only prosper in proportion as the authority of the Scriptures is undermined, and revealed truth cast to the ground.

It is moreover a glaring anachronism to assert that Neology is bred and born in the lap of Protestantism. It was Catholic Italy which gave birth to the principle of unfettered investigation in days prior to the much maligned Reformation, and it was not at Protestant courts, but around the chair of St. Peter, that first of all blasphemous pleasantries made themselves heard respecting the *fabula Christi*! (2) What in the 15th and 16th century originated in Catholic Italy, was during the three following centuries followed up, first in England, then in France, then in Germany. Neology, therefore is the offspring, not of the Reformation, but of Popery, with which it has more in common than with any other system.

§ 3. HETERODOX DEFECTION OF PROTESTANT ORTHODOXY.

It was natural that the Reformation in its emergency should fasten on the Bible as a spiritual arsenal whence to draw weapons for the hot theological conflict it had to sustain. Nor is it surprising that the one-sided study of the Bible, which then commenced, should revenge itself, as was the case in the then leading doctrines of justification and predestination. Take the last. Because Rom. ix was not considered in its historical connection with the two following chapters, the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination with its excesses was at least confirmed, if not originated.

The result was, that those passages which proclaim the universality of divine grace, in no dubious terms, suffered violence in order to make them harmonise with a preconceived theory. The same holds good of Luther's doctrine of justification. Because the Epistle of St. James did not harmonise with Luther's view of the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, it was regarded with the worst suspicion, and subjected to a violent exegesis. When the Scriptures ceased to be studied as the *historical* record of divine Revelation in their organic connection, and when the Bible was reduced to a mere depository of arms for controversial purposes, the dogma of Inspiration, as it shaped itself soon after the Reformation, necessarily bore unmistakable traces of this defection. It is only natural that theological systems should retain some of the imperfections of the age in which they were framed, for the men who prominently fight in the ranks of religious controversy are inevitably covered with the dust which is raised during the heat of the engagement. It would be well if this fact were remembered by the so-called orthodox school, no less than by their opposition.

Our forefathers in the conflict which befel them, needed a ready-made, and what is more, an infallible authority, apart

and independent from that of the Church. As Popes and Councils both claimed infallibility, the infallibility of the Bible was readily advanced against them.

With a mistaken view of further enhancing, if possible, the counter-authority of the Bible, it was argued that the Holy Ghost dictated the Bible word for word. It was the bold assertion of our old divines "*singula verba a Spiritu Sancto in calamus dictata.*" In this view the sacred writers therefore *ipso facto* ceased to be specially *inspired* for their work and office. On the contrary, they were to the Holy Spirit what the material brain is to the mind, and the hand is to the soul. Yea, they were only the passive unconscious instruments, the hands and the pens of the Holy Ghost. These were the very terms employed:—*notarii sive tabelliones Spiritus Sancti, manus Christi, calami Dei auctoris.*

This view of the Inspiration of the Scriptures required neither the qualifications of Prophets nor of Apostles. On the contrary, the bare art of writing was all that was needed. The difference which exists between the Inspiration of the historical and the didactic, the prophetic and the apostolic portions of the Bible, as well as the human instrumentality, of which unmistakable traces remain imprinted on every page, were severally ignored.

Our fathers, in their anxiety to oppose infallibility with infallibility, jeopardized a good cause by a bad theory which cannot be supported. The authority of the Bible, though strictly infallible and all-supreme, is not presented in a form, so physical and external, as the assumed authority of Rome, of which the Pope was the supposed infallible mouthpiece. Indeed had it been intended by God that the Church should possess such a *physical* canon of truth, the entire Scriptures must necessarily have been the autograph of God, in a form, and in a sense analogous to the two tables of the decalogue, and like these they must needs have been preserved in the

Church. The very idea of codices and manuscripts with their divers readings, however unimportant in themselves, would have been inconsistent with the assumed standard of an external Pope-like infallibility in the Holy Scriptures.

Such a mechanical view of Inspiration, if assumed, would not only create greater difficulties than the idea of Revelation itself can possibly present to our opponents, but it would reduce the whole process to actual dictation. *Inspiration* would become *bonâ fide* Inspellation. As it is, we have the Gospel written, not by one, but by four Evangelists; we have Christ reflected, not by one, but by four mirrors, each giving, not an exhaustive, but a circumscribed view of Christ's life, work, and character,—circumscribed in as far as he was taught by the Spirit,—and each preserving his distinctive individuality of type as Gospels *according* to St. Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John.

As there was no absolute suppression of the personality, or of the distinctive individuality of the inspired authors, it may here be casually observed, that it requires a corresponding *individual* preparedness, as well as personal labour in the student of the Bible, rightly to understand the Scriptures, thus inspired by the Holy Ghost.

Instead of having therefore an infallible authority in the form of the external infallibility of the Popedom, the Church has to live, not singly by one passage and another, but collectively by "*every* word which proceedeth out of the mouth of God." Scripture must be apprehended in Theology at least, in its organic comprehensiveness and connection. "Labour for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life, which the Son of Man shall give you." This is one of the many paradoxes of Holy Scripture. God gives Manna, but the Church has still to gather it. It is in grace as in nature. God gives the daily bread in answer to prayer, yet man has to labour for it, and the benefit in both respects is obvious.

As in the person of Christ, the incarnate *Word* of God, we have the very Godhead, and the very manhood, even so in His written Word we have the sacramental and mystical union of two natures and two elements in one book. As in the one case, we have the form of a servant, respecting which it was said, "Blessed is he whosoever is not offended in me," so it is with the Bible. As Christ was perfect man of human flesh and blood subsisting, so the written word also has a perfectly human side. Blessed is he whosoever is not offended at it! As GOD breathed, or more literally *inspired* the breath of life into the dust-formed body of Adam, so the Holy Ghost was pleased to *inspire* the Bible in all its parts with His own life and power, in spite of the dust of seeming imperfections, which the hypercritical eye of the Higher Criticism seeks to magnify. Divine truth like the incarnate Word, must needs have its parable and its *scandalon*, and whosoever will, let him be offended at it!

The great danger in Theology is the attempt to define too much. Many have stumbled in presuming to make too exact a definition of the difference and mystical union of the two natures in Christ's person. This is the sin of old orthodox divines; and the sin of our Neologian critics is much akin to it. If we are determined to dissect divine mysteries as we would dissect a corpse, the Scriptures, with their mysteries of life, will become to us a body of truth, from which the spirit of life has utterly fled. The body and the soul, the divine and the human are so fearfully and wonderfully wrought together, that they can only be separated at our soul's peril.

§ 4. LEGITIMATE AND ILLEGITIMATE BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

As the word, *Inspiration*, was the characteristic watchword of orthodox divinity among our forefathers, so the term, *Biblical Criticism* seems to give tone and type to the neo-

logical movement. We have just laid bare some unorthodox defection in the former, but it will be easy to see which of the two is the safer in the end.

We believe, and confess as Christians, that Christ shall come again to *judge*, literally to *criticise* us, to *decide* our fate in judging us according to our works. The present generation presumes to reverse this order, by criticising Christ's word by which we shall be judged on that day. Modern Bible critics, in their so-called criticisms, *decide* or judge what is the word of God, and determine how far we may believe the Bible to contain the word of God. This will account for the natural dread with which the very term, Biblical criticism, is regarded by even liberal and well informed minds.

Biblical Criticism, however, may be legitimate in some sense, in spite of the natural prejudice which is felt against it. There is a *textual* criticism, which has to deal with the preservation or restoration, it may be, of the original text, and it is to this branch of Theology we look for the examination of the several *codices* and manuscripts, and their respective editions. Textual criticism has rendered good service to the Church in giving us a sure text. It began, *e.g.*, with 30,000 various readings, and reduced them to 107, of which two are of equal value with our present text, 105 of less value, and not one is important for any doctrinal purpose. (3)

Literary Criticism treats of the authenticity of the several portions of the Bible, and here it may already become hazardous, for the individual prejudices of the Biblical critic will not fail to influence him in the examination of the internal peculiarities, as well as of the external testimonies of a certain book. This is more especially true of the Old Testament, where we are almost destitute of external testimonies, and where, in consequence, the most conflicting theories follow each other with frightful rapidity.

But the worst species of all Criticism is what has been termed the *dogmatic* Biblical Criticism. It starts with the assumption that Revelation in the strict sense of the term is metaphysically impossible, and that hence there can be neither a revealed Word of God, properly speaking, nor miracles, nor prophecy. Criticism here claims the privilege of severing all that savours of a belief in supernatural or miraculous manifestations. Facts are here judged by theories and gratuitous assumptions, instead of theories being framed and judged of according to facts.

Such Criticism stands self-condemned; it is in open conflict with common sense, and opposed to every principle of true science. If the facts of divine Revelation be mysterious, has nature no mysteries? The whole case seems to resolve itself in this:—Is there a living God? Has He acted, and has He spoken? If so, where are the deeds He wrought, and the words He spake? If there be such deeds and words, purporting to be done and spoken by God, is it natural, or rational to start with the idea, that these deeds, and words could only be historically true, if they contained no miraculous element?

Is it not on the contrary self-evident that the Biblical documents recording God's own works and words are to be measured by a different standard from that applied to profane works and words recorded in profane history? It would on the contrary be the greatest possible presumptive argument against the historical truth of the Bible narratives, if they contained no account of miraculous events, no prophecies, no strictly supernatural element.

How different the Criticism, 1 Cor. ii. 15, 16. "But the spiritual *judgeth* all things." The Church in its earliest days, exercised such a Criticism as to which books were, and which were not canonical. And the nearer to the pentecostal period, the more competent was she to exercise these critical functions. Even now a day, to the "babes" to whom this mystery is

revealed, a book is inspired because canonical, and canonical in proportion as they recognise in it Christ Jesus, who is the heart and soul, the sun and centre of all Scripture. The practical Christian, who, verse 16, has "*the mind of Christ*," judges that the Old Testament is, so to speak, less *central* than the New Testament; the book of Esther less so than the Pentateuch; the Preacher less so than the Prophet Isaiah; and the Epistle of St. James less so than the Epistle to the Romans.

Yet each of these Scriptures has an essential place and significance in the entire canon. "Those members of the body which seem to be more feeble *are necessary*." But it is vain to deny that such differences exist in the Scriptural canon. It is acknowledged in Theology, and no less in practical life. The practical Christian judges or discriminates as by a spiritual intuitiveness where he finds most of Christ, be it in the Old, or be it in the New Testament; and he turns, as if by instinct to those pages of the Bible, where he most easily recognises Him "of whom Moses, the Prophets, and the Evangelists did write."

If the Bible indeed be a living organism, a perfect living *corpus* of revealed truth, there must be in this, as in every other body, divers members, small and great, "less noble," and "more honourable." But how different the task of Theology, to assign to each its place in the entire organism of divine Revelation, from that negative, or the so-called Higher Criticism, to which we shall next invite attention, and which reverses the order of 1 Tim. iv. 3, John vi, 68, and of the ancient motto:—*Credo ut intelligam*.

The Biblical criticism of the last and the present century, largely partakes of the naturalistic tendency which has already worked out its utter condemnation. Practically it has produced revolution and despotism. Theoretically it has been drifting towards the rock of materialism, which is alike dangerous to christianity, civilisation, and morality.

None will deny the good which has resulted from this Criticism. But the evil far outweighs the benefit. The natural was made to supplant not only the artificial, but also the supernatural. Reason not only asserted its right of protesting against arbitrary systems, or untenable positions in Theology, but against Revelation itself. The natural degenerated into the naturalistic, and the rational into the rationalistic. Out of the stiff dogmatism of a stagnant orthodoxy, grew a more dangerous dogmatism of scepticism, and infidelity, which threatens to sweep away, Bible, Church, orthodoxy, and all for which it is worth living.

And what might be the principles of this Higher Criticism? We notice a systematic disavowal of all acknowledged laws of thought, and the habitual contempt of all established principles of reasoning. Divine things are coolly measured by things human. Past things, not excepting the mystery of creation, are judged by things present. And this in other branches of knowledge besides Theology.

Take history. Here the wise maxim of Livy:—*Scribendo res antiquas antiquior mihi fit animus*; and the plain truth, that every age, every event carries its own measure within itself, is overlooked. Then again it is forgotten that it is not acute criticism but desperate folly, to demand evidence of a different kind from what by the nature of the case, we are authorised to expect. It is folly, *e.g.*, to demand mathematical proof in order to support an historical fact, or to expect moral evidence where mathematical proof alone is available. We cannot measure the degrees of heat by the yard, nor ascertain the strength of moral evidence by the inch.

Were we tempted from respect to this Higher Criticism to reject the marvellous, we will not say from the Bible, but from general history, then Rome itself, the greatest marvel must be struck out as a myth; and its very existence, not only its fabulous origin, must be called into question. What phan-

tastic combinations of Roman history have succeeded each other in Europe since Niebuhr, each demanding that implicit faith which all of them deny to the ancients themselves!

It is this sort of Criticism, with all its vices and defects exaggerated, which has been applied to the Bible records. Some eccentric literary recluses, shut out from the world of real life, presume to sit in judgment respecting the most mighty events of past ages. The theory is laid down, that what has not happened in our days, cannot have happened in other days, although the results of those very events may stare us in the face, of which no parallel, either ancient or modern can be found.

Nothing could have given more zest to this Criticism than the miracles of Revelation; and to deny them was considered to be the *basis* of all true Criticism. It was the dying confession of Diderot, "*Le premier pas vers la Philosophie c'est l'incrédulité.*" Nor was that all. It was laid down as one of the axioms of sound Criticism, that in order to be safe, we must not only reject all miraculous events as pure fiction, and all prophecies as fabrications *post eventum*, but even those recorded events which are natural enough in themselves, and which might therefore have happened, must be discredited because they are linked together with the supernatural, and rest upon the same authority!

How near the argument that the marvellous must be true because it rests upon the same firm historical basis which underlies the non-miraculous parts of the Bible narrative! And how different Bacon's proposition;—" *Animus ad amplitudinem mysteriorum pro modulo suo dilatetur, non mysteria ad angustias animi constringantur!*" How different also Hoelemann's remark, that the first demand, the Bible makes to the student, is, "*Ihm zu Füßen sitzend andächtig zu lauschen, und das Herz aufzuheben, worauf die heilige Wahrheit uns die theuersten, duftigsten und süssesten Kelche ihrer Geheimnisse entgegenneigen und erschliessen wird.*"

§ 5. ANCIENT AND MODERN ATTACKS UPON THE PENTATEUCH.

The historical phases of adverse Criticism show plainly the importance attached to the Pentateuch as a member of the Bible canon. In more recent times, the opposition exercised its functions under the name of enlightenment. But this negative criticism could only be considered as progress in enlightenment, if in modern days it had been proved, that what was considered supernatural from ignorance of certain laws of nature, could now be satisfactorily explained without the assumption of any miraculous interposition. Yet the enlarged store of physical knowledge does not even touch the case in point. What was supernatural in the days of the Pentateuch is supernatural now.

If these critics can explain that, what was marvellous then is not marvellous now, we must take for granted that they have reached a point of modern enlightenment, to which, none but themselves can pretend. Evidence however seems as yet wanting that they are wiser than their neighbours. Besides if to attack the Pentateuch belongs to superior enlightenment, we are bound to extend the same honour to the libertines in the days of Calvin, ~~he~~ whom he designates as *canes*, *porci*, and *nebulones*. (4)

The attacks upon the Pentateuch date however beyond Calvin's time, up to the days of Josephus, who accuses Apion and Manetho of setting themselves in opposition to Moses; and writing of certain treatises by Apollonius, Molon, and Lysimachus, he complains that they "calumniate Moses as an impostor and deceiver, and pretend that our laws teach us wickedness, but nothing that is virtuous." (5)

Julian and Celsus in the beginning of the second century, argued against the Pentateuch on account of its doctrine of sin, which was regarded as a slander to the dignity both of God and of man. (6) Of small value are the objections of

the Nazarines on the score of, what they considered, offensive narratives. (7) The author of the pseudo-clementine homilies stands out more prominently as a forerunner of modern critics. The Pentateuch, according to him, did not assume its present form till long after the death of Moses, and when re-written, foreign elements were mixed up with the original document. (8)

In the third century the Valentinian gnostic, Ptolomæus, divided the Pentateuch into three parts, one was ascribed to God, one to Moses, and in after ages, one to Jewish tradition. (9) More serious appears the passage in St. Jerome, which is quoted to prove that he shared in the doubts as to the Pentateuch. (10) But his words refer to the Jewish tradition, respecting the revisal of the Thorah by Ezra, which tradition however never questioned the authority or authenticity of the Pentateuch. It was only in the middle ages that Rabbinical divines began to whisper their doubts to one another. Isaac ben Jasos, in the eleventh century, maintained that portions bore a post-Mosaic character, *e.g.*, Gen. 36. Aben Ezra censured him, but asserted the interpolation of certain passages. After the Reformation, Carlstadt and Masius argued that Moses could not be the author. (11) Thomas Hobbes in the seventeenth century reiterated the same opinion. (12) Isaac Peyrerijs, Spinoza, Richard Simon, and Van Dale, followed up the attacks with most of the arguments still advanced by modern writers. (13).

Le Clerc urged the impossibility of the Mosaic origin from seventeen passages, but on more mature consideration he publicly retracted his first opinion. (14) Yet, owing to the rationalistic principle of his interpretation, in which all miracles are explained away, the way was prepared for the mythical notions of a later period.

The latter part of the seventeenth century was marked by the most violent attacks upon the Bible in general, and it was

only when the ridicule and sarcasm of a deistical age was fairly exhausted that some of the more thoughtful adversaries constructed a more learned apparatus to complete, as was thought, the destruction of the Pentateuch. In this warfare Germany has taken the lead up to the present time.

The main drift of the recent work of Dr. Colenso is to undermine the historical veracity, as well as the unity and Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and one thing only seems to be lacking, *i.e.*, that he should challenge the world with Voltaire, to prove that there ever existed such a man as Moses! (15)

But there is a sad peculiarity in this book which deserves notice. It has, in all ages, been the time-honoured practice of Theologians to discuss questions of Biblical Criticism as Theologians. Had the author of the "Critical Examination of the Pentateuch" come before the world with a book of pure speculation, addressed to Theologians in a form which could fairly claim a literary character, and as such, would command respect, the aspect of the question, though serious, would still have been very different. Unorthodox, and extravagant as the book might have been, literary criticism as such, takes no account of a doctrine's novelty or heterodoxy; and the issues, if just and true, would have been left to filter down gradually, into the common thought of the masses of mankind.

In this work, however, literary criticism is commuted into a religious dogmatism by laying bare, in a popular form, the hasty results of a crude criticism, culled within a few months, mainly from German works, and by the author's own admission, with but a poor stock of general information as to the general bearings of the question. The author, instead of calmly appealing in a literary difficulty to learned divines who have devoted a life of thoughtful and earnest study to the subject, makes an undignified and repeated appeal to lay multitudes to come to his succour.

The author of the "Critical Examination of the Pentateuch" has rightly caught the key-note of modern criticism above alluded to. He aims at the separation of doctrine, religion, and morality from history. The gist of the first part of the work is to establish that the Pentateuch is not to be read as an authentic narrative, but yet, as full of divine instruction in morals and religion. As the book is not the scientific result of a pure speculation, but a popular work in a popular form, it is to be regretted that whilst the author seeks to establish that the Pentateuch is not historically true, he fails in impressing on the popular masses that it is nevertheless a "narrative full of divine instruction in morals and religion." This is a sad blemish, shows bad faith, and rouses suspicion.

Of this, the last attack upon the Pentateuch, there are only two parallel cases of modern date on record; that of Renan, and that of Wislicenus, a German Roman Catholic priest. Both these men, like Dr. Colenso, have no reputation as Theologians. Yet, in publishing *popular* works, conceived in a painfully bold and irreverent spirit, this trio of negative critics provide food and sustenance, not to thoughtful and earnest-minded English, French, and German seekers after truth, but to thoughtless multitudes, to whom any assistance in their onward march towards materialism is truly welcome. Not to speak of the wide spread of the works of Colenso and Renan, 20,000 copies of the first edition of the work of Wislicenus were sold in Germany. But it will not be without interest to the English reader to learn, that whilst Renan's work has brought a number of German Theologians in the field, the work of Dr. Colenso has not produced a single ripple on the easily excited surface of the German Theological world, excepting the few private letters, which he himself has published.

§ 6. HISTORY OR MYTHS IN THE PENTATEUCH.

If the Pentateuch, as has been asserted, (16) embody any

mythical or semi-mythical element, then the Hebrew literature becomes the most intricate of all literary mysteries, to which no key can be found among all the grand apparatus of the Higher Criticism. The post-Mosaic period constitutes a tree which has no root. Yet, the Patriarchal history, the Exodus, and the sojourn in the wilderness form the necessary condition of the subsequent Jewish polity, and are severally united as cause and effect which nothing can sever.

Not once, but a hundred times, the facts and marvels of the Pentateuch resound in the Psalms and Prophets. The Mosaic reminiscences are the ancient high soaring mountains to which posterity looks back, as to the mountains from whence cometh their help; or, to enlarge the figure, these everlasting hills of Pentateuchal facts are reflected down the whole length of the clear and calm flowing river of Hebrew literature. Even after the Prophets had foretold the approaching dissolution of the Theocratical constitution, they recur to the marvellous beginnings with undecayed vigour, prophesying a reiteration of these primitive marvels in very connection with the expected kingdom of the Messiah. Hos. ii., 14, 15. Is. xi., 11, 18. Mich. ii., 13, vii., 15. "According to the days of thy coming out of the land of Egypt, will I show unto him marvellous things."

All this proves, if anything can be proved, that this history must have been known to the whole nation as history, and known exactly as we have it in the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua. The allusions would otherwise be senseless, and unmeaning. It could only have sense and meaning upon the supposition, that the Hebrew nation lived and moved in its original history as in its natural element. This original history was kept alive by their annual festivals—the Passover and feast of tabernacles more especially—the ordinance of the sabbath and circumcision, just as we keep alive the facts of our redemption by annual and weekly festivals, by sacraments, and other means of grace.

Israel knew their God only as the "God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob," as Jehovah who brought his people out of Egypt, just as we know God as the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. The very names of God are memorials of the great epochs of Pentateuchal history. Indeed the chief means of grace was the *history* of the Patriarchs, and of the nation. In this history Israel was taught, by it the Hebrews were quickened, rejoiced, and enlightened, as much as by the precepts and testimonies which were then given in connection with it.

Hence, holy men of God in either Testament, are seen to walk in these safe historical paths in their exhortation, their teaching and their apologetic defence, assuming that God's past dealings with His people, and the record of the people's conduct towards Jehovah, were the best teachers. Moses in his Deuteronomy, Joshua, Samuel, Stephen, and Paul in their respective writings or addresses may serve as examples. (17)

In order to show how each successive layer of the post-Mosaic literature reposes upon its predecessor, it will simply require a careful study of the contents, yea, of the very expressions of each holy book. (18) And we may be sure that the days will come when the epidemic of this historical scepticism shall have passed away, and it shall again be universally confessed, what we now assert, that not Herodotus, but Moses, is the real Father of History. Niebuhr has gracefully admitted that the Hebrew Scriptures alone, make an exception to that false and lying patriotism, which renders the writings of all other nations such doubtful guides. Never, he remarks, are the failings of the most favourite Hebrew heroes omitted, or the misfortunes of the nation suppressed; and the man who believes in no divine inspiration, must yet feel that he has to do with the essence of historical veracity.

§ 7. SUPPOSED ANALOGY IN GREEK AND HEBREW LITERATURE.

Among all nations we recognise two distinct literary periods, which, in profane history, may be styled the heroic-

epical, and the historico-philosophical epoch. *But just where we expect analogy between the Hebrew and other nations, there we observe the greatest difference in the formation of the two respective periods of literature.*

In point of chronological order, the poetical, didactical, and prophetic literature of the Jews is, in relation to the Pentateuch, what the works of Pindar, Sophocles, Herodotus, and Plato are in respect to Homer and Hesiod among the most important representatives of the Gentiles; and what much of our modern Literature is, in comparison with the Nibelung, and similar productions of our Saxon forefathers.

The heroic-epical period of Greek Literature is the creation of their mythology by their poets. The second epoch was that of a critical sceptical Philosophy, which dissolves the mythical element, and finishes with a severe ethical criticism not only of the unreal nature of the mythological element, but of its pernicious effects upon religion and morality.

Classical Paganism, in the last few centuries B.C., had become convinced of the falsehood of its popular mythology as furnished by the epic poems, and of its practically unfavourable effects upon the people.

Pythagoras 580 B.C., Heraclitus 500 B.C., Xenophanes 456 B.C. and others had severally protested against the gods and myths of Homer; and Socrates 400 B.C. died a protestant martyr in the cause. But it was reserved to Plato, his pupil, to protest more emphatically against the mythical creations of Homer in the shape of gods, heroes and men.

It will not prove a digression to refer to a few passages in Plato's Republic which was written towards the end of his life. It embodies the results of most of his other dialogues, and contains a summary of his whole ethical system. (19)

Speaking of the education of the guardians of the state that was to be formed, he continues, Book II., cap. xvii. :—

“And know you not, that the beginning of every work is most important, especially to any one young and tender, because then, that particular impression is most easily instilled and formed which any one may wish to imprint on each individual. Entirely so. Shall we then let children hear any kind of fables composed by any kind of person, and receive into their minds opinions, in a great measure, contrary to those which we think they should have when they are grown up? We should by no means allow it. First of all, then, as it seems, we must exercise control over the fable-makers, and whatever beautiful fable they may invent, we should select, and what is not so we should reject: and very many of those that they now tell must be cast aside.”

“What, for instance?” said he. In the more important fables, said I, we shall see the lesser likewise, for the fashion of them must be the same, and both the greater and the less must have the same kind of influence. Do you not think so? I do, said he; but I do not at all understand which of them you call the greater. Those, said I, which both Hesiod and Homer told us, and the other poets also, for they composed and related false fables for mankind, and do still relate them. What class, said he, do you mean, and what do you blame in them?”

“That, said I, which ought first and most of all to be blamed, especially when one does not falsify well. What is that? When a poet, in his composition, exhibits bad representations of the nature of the gods and heroes.—Yes, it is quite right, said he, that these should be blamed, but how do we say, and in what respect? First of all, said I, with reference to that greatest falsehood, in matters of grave importance too, in saying which he did not falsify well, that Uranus made what Hesiod says he did; and then again how Kronos punished him, and what Kronos did and suffered from his son. For though these things were true, yet I think they

should not be so readily told to the unwise and the young, but rather concealed from them.—These fables, said he, are indeed injurious, neither are they to be told, Adimantus, said I, in our state. Nor should it be said in the hearing of a youth, that he who commits the most extreme injustice, or that he who punishes in every possible way a father who commits injustice, does nothing strange, but only does the same as the first and the greatest of gods. No, truly, said he, nor do such things as these seem to me proper to be said. Neither generally, said I, must it be told, how gods war with gods, and plot and fight against one another, for such assertions are not true, if at least it be the duty of those who are to guard the state, to esteem it most shameful to hate each other on slight grounds. As little ought we to describe in fables and with ornamental aids, the battles of the giants, and other many and various feuds, both of gods and heroes, with their own kindred and relations.”

“And the fables of Hera fettered by her son, and Hephæstus hurled from heaven by his father for going to assist his mother when beaten, and all those battles of the gods which Homer has composed, we must not admit into our state, either in allegory or without allegory, for young persons are not able to judge what is allegory and what is not, but whatever opinions they receive at such an age are wont to be obliterated with difficulty and immoveable. Hence, one would think, we should of all things, endeavour, that what they first hear be composed in the best manner for exciting them to virtue.”

Plato continues, Book II., Chap. xviii. :—

“There is reason for it, said he, but if any one should ask us about these, what they are, and what kind of fables, which should we name? Adimantus, I replied, you and I are not poets at present, but founders of a state, and it is the founders’ business to know the models on which the poets are to com-

pose their fables, contrary to which they are not to be tolerated; but it is not our province to make fables for them. Right, said he. But as to this very thing, namely, the models to be taken—in speaking about the gods, what must they be? Some such as these, said I: God is always to be presented, such as he is, whether we represent him in epic or song, or in tragedy. Necessarily so. Is not God essentially good, and is he not to be described as such? Without doubt. But nothing that is good is hurtful, is it? I do not think so. Does then what is not hurtful ever hurt? By no means. Does that which hurts not, do any evil? Of course not. But what? good is beneficial. Yes. It is, therefore, the cause of prosperity? Yes. Good, therefore, is not the cause of all things, but the cause of those things only which are in a right state; not the cause of those things which are in a wrong state. Entirely so, said he. Neither, then, can God, said I, since he is good, be the cause of all things, as the many say, but only the cause of a few things to men, but of many things not the cause; for our blessings are much fewer than our troubles: and no other must be assigned as the cause of our blessings; whereas, of our troubles we must seek some other cause, and not God. You seem to me, said he, to speak most truly. We must not admit, then, said I, that error of Homer or any other poet who foolishly errs with respect to the gods, and says how:—

‘Fast by the threshold of Jove’s courts are placed
Two casks, one stored with evil, one with good,
From which the god dispenses as he wills.
For whom the glorious thund’rer mingles both,
He leads a life chequer’d with good and ill
Alternate; but to whom he gives unmix’d
The bitter cup, he makes that man a curse,
His name becomes a by-word of reproach,
His strength is hunger-bitten, and he walks
The blessed earth unblest, go where he may.’

“Nor can we admit, that Zeus—

‘Grants mortal man both happiness and woe.’

“As regards the violation of oaths and treaties,” he continues in chap. xix., “which Pandarus effected, if any should say it was done by the agency of Athena and Zeus, we cannot approve,—neither, if he were to relate the dissension among the gods, and the judgment by Themis and Zeus; nor yet must we suffer the youth to have what Æschylus says, how—

‘Forthwith to mortals God invents a cause,
Whene’er he wills their dwellings to destroy;—

and besides if any one in making poetical compositions, in which are these iambics, the sufferings of Niobe, of the Pelopides, or the Trojans, or others of a like nature, we must either not suffer him to say that they are the works of God.”

“To say, however, that God, who is good, is the cause of ill to any one, this we must by all means oppose, and suffer no one to say so in our state; if at any rate we wish it well governed;—neither must we allow any one, young or old, to hear such things told in fable, either in verse or prose, as their relation is neither consistent with holiness, nor profitable to us, nor consistent with themselves.”

After protesting in chap. xx. against Homer representing the gods as changing themselves, with a view to deceive and play false, he continues in chap. xxi. :—

“But a real falsehood is not only hated by the gods but also by men. It appears so to me.—In which of these cases, then, is a falsehood useful to God? Does he invent a falsehood resembling the truth, because he is ignorant of ancient things? That were ridiculous, said he. In God, then, there is not a lying poet? I think not. But would he invent a falsehood through fear of his enemies? Far from it. Or on account of the folly or madness of his friends? No, said he,

none of the foolish and mad are beloved of God. There is no occasion at all, then, for a god to invent a falsehood? None. The divine and godlike nature then, is altogether free from falsehood? Entirely so, said he. God, then, is quite simple and true, both in word and deed; neither is he changed himself, nor does he deceive others, neither by visions, nor discourse, nor the pomp of signs, neither when we are awake nor when we sleep? So it appears to me, said he, just as you say. You agree, then, said I, that this shall be the second principle which we are to lay down both in speaking and composing concerning the gods, namely, that they are neither sorcerers who change themselves, nor mislead us by falsehoods, either in word or deed; I agree. While, then, we commend many other things in Homer this we shall not commend, namely, the dream sent by Jupiter Agamemnon, nor that in Æschylus, when he makes Thetis say that Apollo had sung at her marriage that:—

* * * * ‘Her happy lot should be
To bear an offspring fair, from ailment free,
And blest with lengthen’d days; and then the God
Unfolding all; with pœans high proclaim’d
Thy heaven—blest fortunes, welcome to my soul
I hoped that all was true that Phœbus sang!
So sweetly tuned with high prophetic art;—
But he who at my nuptials joy foretold,
The same is he, who now has slain my child.’

“When any one alleges such things about the gods, we must show disapproval, and not grant them the privilege of a chorus; neither should we suffer teachers to employ them in the training of youth, if at least our guardians are to be pious and divine men, as far as man can be. As to all these models, I entirely agree with you, said he, and I shall adopt them as laws.”

After speaking against Homer misrepresenting Hades, he continues Book III., chap. i. :—

“As to these and all such like passages, we must request Homer and the other poets not to be offended at our erasing them, not as unpoetical and displeasing to the ears of the multitude; for the more poetical they are, the less should they be listened to by children, or men either who would be free and fear slavery more than death. Aye, by all means.”

Again in Book III., chap. ii. :—

“Further, are not all dreadful and frightful titles also, about these things, to be rejected, such as Cocytus and Styx, the infernals, the life-lorn, and many other appellations of this character, such as make all hearers shudder, and perhaps they may well serve some other purpose; but we fear for our guardians, lest by such terror they be made more effeminate and soft than is fitting. We are in the right too, to be afraid of that, said he. Are these then to be suppressed? Yes. And must they speak, then, and compose on a contrary model to this? Plainly so.”

“Thence once more we shall request Homer, and the other poets, not to represent Achilles, the son of a goddess, as tossing now on this side, and now once more on his back, now on his face, and then as rising up, and pacing in frenzy the shore of the waste untameable ocean; nor yet as taking in both hands black, burnt out ashes, and pouring them over his head; nor as otherwise indulging in all that weeping and wailing which Homer has attributed to him; and not describe Priam, whose near ancestor was a god as making a supplication, and

‘Rolling in dung and by name to every man loudly appealing;’

and still more earnestly we shall beg, whatever they do, not to represent the gods, at least we shall entreat them not presume to draw so unlike a picture of the highest of the gods as to make him say :—

‘Well-a-day, him I love, pursued round the walls of the city, thus with these eyes I behold, and my heart is troubled within me.’

And again :—

‘A woe’s me for the doom, that the dearest of mortals, Sarpedon.
Must by Patroclus, Menoetius’ son be slain in the combat.

“For if, my dear Adimantus, our young men were to listen seriously to such accounts, instead of laughing at them as unworthy descriptions, it would be very unlikely that any one of them should look upon himself, that is but a man, as above such behaviour and rebuke himself, if he were ever betrayed into it either in word or act: nay rather unchecked by shame or fortitude, he will chant a multitude of dirges and laments over trivial misfortunes.”

“Neither ought we, moreover, to be over fond of laughing, for commonly where a man gives himself to violent laughter, such a disposition requires a violent change. I think so, said he. Neither, if any one should represent worthy men as overcome by laughter, should we allow it, much less if he thus represent the gods. Much less, indeed, said he. Neither, then, ought we to receive such statements as these of Homer concerning the gods :—

‘Heaven rang with laughter inextinguishable—
Peal after peal such pleasure all conceived
At sight of Vulcan in his new employ.’

“This cannot be admitted, according to your reasoning. If you please to call it my reasoning, said he, this indeed cannot be admitted.”

After applauding certain passages in chap. iii., he continues :

“But can we approve of such language as this: ‘Drunken sot, with the face of a dog, and the heart of a deer,’ and of what follows, and all the other insolent expressions, which, in prose or in poetry, are put into the mouths of inferiors towards those in authority? No, we cannot. Because I

imagine they do not tend to promote sobriety in youth: or, do you think that being told this, will aid a young man in acquiring a self-control; or this, 'it is most wretched by famine to die, and one's doom to encounter.'

"Or what do you think of Zeus so readily forgetting in the eagerness of his desire, all he had immediately before resolved, as he watched alone, whilst all others, gods and men were asleep. And what say you to the story of how Ares and Aphrodite were bound in fetters by Hephæstus in consequence of a similar proceeding."

"Upon my word, he replied, such stories strike one as very improper to be told."

Shortly after we read:—

"It is my regard to Homer, I continued, that makes me slow to assert that it is a positive sin to say these things of Achilles, or to believe them when others say them, or to believe that he said of Apollo:—

'Thou far-worker hast harmed me, no god so destructive as thou art—surely had I the power I would take vengeance upon thee.'

"And that he behaved in so refractory a manner to the river who was a god, as to be prepared to fight with him. Then let us not believe once more, or allow it to be said, that Theseus, the son of Poseidon and Pirithous, the son of Zeus went forth to commit rape, nor that any god-sprung hero could have ventured to perpetrate such dreadful impieties as at the present day are falsely ascribed to them. Rather let us oblige our poets to admit either that the deeds in question were not their deeds, or else that they were not the children of the gods. But let them beware of combining both assertions, or of attempting to make our young men believe that the gods are parents of evil, and that heroes are no better than common men. For as we said above, these statements are at once irreverent and untrue, for we have found, I believe, that evils

cannot originate with the gods. To them that hear it, it must be hurtful, since every one would indulge in doing evil without compunction, if it was once admitted that the gods have done alike, or are committing the same acts of riot.

In another passage the great Philosopher applies the most withering irony to the original formation of the Grecian myths. He introduces by way of parody the dire distress of the originators to make them believed. We read:—

“Can we contrive any ingenious mode of bringing into belief these well-intentioned and wholesome falsehoods, of which we have lately spoken, and to persuade the rulers to believe the fiction, or if not them, yet at least the rest of the city? What kind of fiction? Nothing new but a Phœnician story of what before this frequently happened, as the poets tell and mankind believe, but which happened not in our time, and has not been, nor so far as I know cannot happen at any time, and for which it would require large powers of persuasion to obtain credit.”

“You seem to be reluctant to tell it.”

“You will think my reluctance very natural when I have told it.”

“Speak out boldly and without fear.”

“Well I will, and yet I hardly know when I shall find the courage, and where the words to express myself. I shall try, I say, first to persuade the rulers themselves and the military class, and after them the rest of the city, that when we were training and instructing them, they only fancied, as in dreams, that all this happened to them, and about them, while in reality they were in the course of formation and training in the bowels of the earth, where they themselves, their armour, and the rest of their equipments were manufactured, and from whence, as soon as they were thoroughly elaborated, the earth, their real mother, put them up to its surface, and consequently that they ought to take thought for the land in which

they should dwell, as their mother and nurse, and repel all attacks upon it, and to feel towards their fellow citizens as brothers and children of the soil,"

Glauccon interrupts Socrates, saying :—

"It was not without reason that you were so long ashamed to tell us the fiction or lie."

"I dare say, nevertheless hear the rest of the story. We shall tell our people in mythical language, you are doubtless, all brethren as inhabiting the city, but the god who created you mixed gold in the composition of such of you as are qualified to rule, which gives them the highest value, while in the auxiliaries he made silver an ingredient, assigning iron and copper to the cultivators of the soil, and the other workmen. Can you suggest any device by which we can make them believe this fiction?"

"None at all by which we could persuade the men with whom we begin our new state: but I think their sons, and the next generation, and all subsequent generations might be induced to believe."

"Well, I said, even this might have a good effect towards making them care more for the city and for one another, for I think I understand what you mean. However we will leave this fiction to its fate."

The whole is summed up in Book X., chap. i. :—

"That I may tell it to you,—for you will not denounce me to the composers of tragedy and the rest of the imitative class,—all such things as these seem to be the ruin of the intellect of the hearers, that is, of such of them as have not a test to enable them to discern their peculiar nature. What consideration, said he, leads you to say this? It must be stated, said I, although a certain friendship, at least, and reverence for Homer, which I have had from my childhood, almost restrains me from telling it; for he seems truly both to have been the first leader and teacher of all the good com-

posers of tragedy ; but still the man must not be honoured in preference to truth."

Again, Book X., chap. iv. :—

"Would then the men of Homer's time have left either him or Hesiod to go about singing their songs, if he could have done men service in the way of virtue, and not rather have kept him with offers of gold and so obliged him to stay with them ; or, had they been unable to prevail on him, would they not as disciples have followed him everywhere, till they had gained a sufficient education ?"

In Book X., cap. vii., Plato censures the effusion of the poets, because it "nurtures and irrigates the passions, whereas they ought to be governed, in order to our becoming better and happier, instead of being worse and more miserable."

§ 8. CONTRAST OF THE PENTATEUCH AND THE HOMERIC POEMS.

The Pentateuch has been compared with Homer, and designated the Theocratical epos of the Israelites with symbolical, judicial, etymological, and didactical myths. The marvellous in the one was placed parallel to the marvellous in the other. Was there mythology in the one case, why should there not be in the other ? But amidst the accidental analogy between the Mosaic and the Homeric theophanies, and between Jewish and Pagan tradition, customs, &c., &c., one thing is most certain : *if there be any reason for placing the Pentateuch on the same level as the Illiad, and for considering it a parallel collection of myths, it would necessarily follow, that the second literary period of the Hebrews, would judge similarly of these supposed Mosaic myths as the second Hellenic period judged of the Homeric productions ; but here the analogy entirely fails.*

Instead of condemning the earliest writing of their forefathers, the Hebrew sages, historians, poets, and seers of later

ages,—who were by no means inferior in power and spirit to the corresponding Greek authors of the second period,—hold fast to the *historical* matter-of-fact records of the Pentateuch. This is done with a tenacity and conviction which cannot be mistaken. David, and the prophets judge very differently of Moses from what Plato does of Homer. And this with all justice. Plato would not have judged differently of the Pentateuch from what the Hebrew prophets did, as we can infer to a certainty from his criticisms of Homer. Have not many noble-minded Greeks, at a later time, taken refuge as proselytes in Judaism after they had despaired of their own creed?

What offended Plato in the popular mythology of the Greeks was, not the metaphysical side of the question as regarded the marvels they recorded; it was not with him the impossibility of the marvellous, which now forms the main objection of our modern Bible critics, who gratuitously compare themselves with these Greek Philosophers: the real stumbling-block of the Great Thinker arose upon ethical grounds. Plato betook himself to a critical examination of Homer's work, not in the name of unenlightened reason, but, to his praise be it said, in the name of *conscience*. He objected, not to the gods having wrought marvels, but, to their having wrought wickedness. It was the distinction between good and evil, which led Plato to a distinction between true and false. In proportion as these fine moral perceptions are blunted in our modern critics, they become more and more disqualified to distinguish between the true and false. It would be well, if those who now-a-days are ashamed to sit at the feet of Jesus would sit at the feet of Plato.

The soul of the Mosaic economy is the decalogue, which is, to this hour freely received by all civilised nations as the most excellent and compendious moral code. The miraculous element is not merely accidentally connected with law and

doctrine. In reading Ex. xix., and xx., all feel that these marvels which belong to the greatest on record, agree with the entire context of the Pentateuch. The miracles are not a new piece upon an old garment. The miraculous act of the law-giving, and the subject matter of the Sinaitic legislation are felt to be of one cast, forming one great masterpiece.

But the chief point to which we would direct attention is the purity, the sanctity, and the holiness of the Pentateuch. Whilst the better sort of Greeks were compelled to debar their youth from the myths of the gods as painted by the poets, the most moral Christian nations can find no better means of forming their children's character than the Bible, especially the Patriarchal history. As regards the holiness of the God of the Hebrews, whilst all Christendom, and even the Mohammedan world, bend the knee before Jehovah, as the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, none cares for Baal, Jupiter, Apollo, or Astarte, except it be for some artistic and literary reason.

The great defect of mythology was its separation of religion and morality from history, and this proved the rock on which it suffered shipwreck. In the Pentateuch, from the very beginning, the defect is supplied. Thus, the children of Israel in the zenith of their glory and intelligence, maintain as clear and firm a conviction of the historical veracity of their religion, and the earliest history connected with it, as the Greeks become convinced of the mythical character of their creed, or to use Plato's words, of its lying and fabulous nature. Compare with this the contents of Psalm cxix.

Whilst Plato rejects the myths, as such, and rebukes the defects of the national creed as a deception, from a conscientious conviction of its falsity, the Prophets and the Apostles say with one heart and voice: "*We have not followed cunningly devised fables*" or *myths*, for where God's grace is, there also we must search for His truth. 2 Pet. i., 16, John i., 12.

As truly then as Jehovah is God, and not an idol, so truly His Revelation is history and not a myth. Judaism could not be true, if it were not historical in contradistinction to mythical. God was manifested, and Jehovah has spoken. If this be called into question what else can there remain true in the Pentateuch! Among the Hebrews, history occupies the exact place which mythology occupies with the Greeks, or indeed any other people; and Revelation from God, wherever found, must be the history of histories; as Jehovah is the God of gods, so divine Revelation is the culmination of history in the highest and only sense of the word.

Revelations from God, by whomsoever received, must have been given in a real, actual, historical form; and these must have so deeply impressed themselves upon the recipients that they were deemed worthy, unlike other facts, of being most carefully transmitted to futurity. Hence, the early monuments of these marvels were partly ritual, partly monumental: stones being raisen up to commemorate the events, and to hand them down to posterity. Josh. iv., 9.

Here it was not a question about things, of which Plato declared that they could only be believed in the second generation:—but it was said of Abraham, “I know him that he will command his *children*, and his household after him to keep the way of the Lord.” Gen. xviii., 19. Again, at the institution of the Passover, Exod. xii., 26. “And it shall come to pass when your children shall say, what mean ye by this service, that ye shall say, “It is the Lord’s Passover, who passed over the houses of the children of Israel when he smote the Egyptians and delivered their houses.” The same is true of the stones raised up in memory of the passage over the Jordan. Josh. iv., vi., vii. In the song of Moses we have these words; “Remember the days of old, consider the years of many generations, ask thy father and he will show thee, thy elders and they will tell thee.” Deut. xxxii., 7.

Thus was the nation to cultivate the appreciation of historical facts; and the desire to hand down what had been seen and heard, was felt in a degree, unknown to any other nation. And this high appreciation of historical truth has remained to this people up to this very day.

In Alexandria indeed, where the Jews were brought under the subtle influence of the allegorising Greek school, they were tempted to allegorise their history. Yet not this allegorising tendency of the Jewish Alexandrian school, which assumed a recondite or double sense, but the faithful clinging to the literality of the old Testament in Palestine became the foundation upon which the Gospel dispensation was to be reared. This must not be overlooked.

Christ and the Apostles looked back upon the Pentateuch, not as a collection of myths to be dissolved, but as divine truths to be established for ever. The old Testament was to them historically true and divine. To them the Scripture could not be broken. They came not to destroy the law, as Plato came to destroy the poetic fictions of Homer, but to fulfil. There is one more point to consider.

The very existence of the Jewish people belongs to the greatest marvels of history. It would only mystify facts to attempt to explain their physical and moral condition, upon the supposition that the Pentateuch is a myth. Homer is not necessary to account for the existence and history of the Greeks: no other nation has been so much tried and sifted as that of the Jews, yet, like the burning bush it burns without being consumed. The Babylonians, Egyptians, Phoenicians, Assyrians, Greeks and Romans have perished, though they were seldom or scarcely expelled out of their original seats, yet Israel, even in its great dispersion, continued a nation.

If the Christian Church be a living and ever-growing evidence of the reality and the historical veracity of the

Gospels, so is the existence of Israel, as a people, an imperishable witness of some great past history: of such a history as is recorded in the Pentateuch. Can even a remote parallel be found among the Greeks, or indeed among any other people?

§ 9. THE GRAVITY OF THE APPROACHING CRISIS AND ITS BENEFITS.

In human systems of Christian Doctrine there is always some earthly alloy which cannot stand the trial of the furnace. Not the Bible indeed, nor yet the faith delivered to the Saints, but men's Theological systems about the one and the other, need be tested and re-examined from time to time. And here it may be added that Theological fevers will run high and prove delirious in exact proportion as the preceding periods have been dead or dormant from orthodox stagnation.

In the conflict of Neology and Orthodoxy in this country, we shall, doubtless, have to mourn over losses, but truth will always gain by examination, and the more severe and sifting the testing, the more lasting the result. Some may controvert the statement, but it is nevertheless true, that until the recent infusion of German Neology there prevailed in this country, a remarkable stagnation in Divinity, properly so-called, and is, in an age of almost unprecedented activity in physical science. The wheels of English Theology moved heavily. The conservative principle degenerated into slothful repose, and it became a question of conserving the stereotyped formularies, not indeed of the Church, but of certain Theological schools. There was rest in Israel, but that rest proved fatal. The armoury of Biblical criticism, at all times but indifferently stored, was neglected, because there was no definite attacks to repel; it is however to be hoped that the awakening sense of danger will give an impetus to a healthy Theological Literature, to which indeed, during the last few years, a good foundation has been laid.

It cannot be gainsayed, that orthodox Divinity in any country will remain weak, sterile, superficial, and sentimental, till braced into manly action by some apparently destructive cross-fire, such as that of a deep-going and penetrating rationalistic criticism; and it shows but little faith in the Bible, and less acquaintance with the solid basis of the evidences of Christianity if our ranks are thrown into terror and confusion at every fresh assault. There may be some dross in our Theology and a few flaws in the old moulds into which divine truth has been cast either by ourselves or by our forefathers; the fire of the refiner will therefore be welcome, if in God's goodness it only purges away our tin. We believe that this result has never been wanting, even from every upstart criticism. Whether fairly conducted or in the offensive form of the most arrogant and hypercritical Rationalism, it will ever serve as a winnowing fan, scattering much that is light and leaving behind all that is solid.

English Divinity, till within a few years, has calmly rested upon certain acknowledged standard works of admitted excellency; but as these were composed to meet the exigencies of days gone by, they can no longer satisfy the wants of the present age. Amidst the upheavings of science, it was only to be expected that doubts should engender in the minds of the intelligent masses, as to the tenability of certain forms in which religious truth was exhibited. These doubts must be met fairly and with all the ability which God giveth. Theology to be faithful must rise to every emergency. If new modes of attack are framed, new modes of defence must be devised to meet them, or we shall prove false to our trust.

Much indeed of the danger which now threatens us might have been averted, if there had been the same forethought in Divinity which happily prevails in political councils. Whilst Government spends enormous sums upon the armaments of the country and the colonies, fortifying every

assailable point during a period of unexampled repose, the Church of this land, with slight exceptions, has been resting on her oars, and Theology, as the defender of orthodoxy, has gradually drifted down the stream.

In thus maintaining that good will come out of evil, and in candidly admitting our neglect in days of peace, when we might with certainty have calculated upon the coming storm, we do not mean to disguise the gravity of our present position. We might indeed afford to smile at the recent publication of certain works, if these stood alone, and were not bold indications of what is working beneath the surface. But it required the breaking out of this leprosy on one of the heads of the National Church to create a feeling of alarm. English Divinity will therefore be compelled to take a full view of the whole breadth and width of the danger. Indignant protests against the productions of a school which professes to be the champion of so-called enlightenment will not avail, for their existence only proves that there is something deficient or rotten in our Theology. Whilst therefore we seek to expose the shallow pretensions of our opponents, let us re-examine our own Theological arsenal, and supply the deficiency, not only with regard to the Pentateuch, but with regard to the whole Bible.

Rather than spend breath in idle protests or unseemly vituperation, or even in hasty, undignified, and superficial refutations, let the Church of England thank God, and take courage in the work now before her. If it be an anxious time, let it be remembered that there can be no deliverance without travail. The Romanising paroxysm, though costing us some heavy sacrifices, yet left a blessing behind. As it agitated the pool, like an angel from heaven, so with God's help the benefit resulting from a contest with an enemy from the opposite side, will be great: it will clear the atmosphere of thought, and dispel the haze of apathy and

sluggishness. Feeble counter-attacks, or hollow declamation against the victims of scepticism will give place to calm, grave and scholarly productions; and public prosecutions, which seldom fail to fan the subtle flame they are meant to extinguish, will be superseded by worthy exposures of the fallacies of specious Theological abnegation.

Every fresh movement, indeed, claims the utmost freedom of thought and expression; and it is the sober conviction of certain foreign divines whose hair has whitened during a life-long struggle for the truth, that the less grudgingly full liberty be granted to the Anglo-Neologian school at the present hour, the sooner it will work out its own condemnation, and the safer will be the issues of the present crisis for the Church. Hidden sores are always the most dangerous; the natural and necessary process of fermentation in new wine will be safe so long as casks and cellars are kept open; but if closed, loss and danger will be the inevitable result.

On the other hand, it must not be overlooked that it will require all the sobriety of the English mind to resist the clamour which makes itself heard, for relaxation of subscriptions, and for revision or abolition of tests. The device is clearly *to divert attention from the real to an imaginary danger*. It goes upon the false assumption that there is something amiss in the Prayer Book, or even in the Bible, whilst the real grievance is in the tendency of this new movement. As soon as the fermentation of this new wine has subsided, demands for revision or abolition of restraints will be heard of no more.

Is it time to break down the hedge of the vineyard when the wild beasts are in sight? Is it wise to demolish the fortifications of the commonwealth when the enemy draws nigh? Does it show good sense and good faith to sigh for the abolition of articles, oaths, and subscriptions when the foundations of our faith are being destroyed?

What is now proposed in England was actually accomplished in some parts of Germany during the terrible reign of Rationalism. Church doctrines, Church formularies, gave way before the flood of a sceptical movement; but scarcely had the tide receded than a yearning after the old Bible, the old teaching, the old prayers, the old faith—yea, and the dear old hymns of the Church of the Fatherland, made itself felt among the people.

In the little kingdom of Württemberg, *e.g.*, which produced Strauss, and the notorious Tübingen School, the twice emancipated Protestant Church knew of nothing better to fall back upon, in order to reconstruct a sound Liturgy, than the very Prayer Book which is said to perplex some few discontented Churchmen. The same yoke which seems to weigh so heavily upon a few in this land is cheerfully taken up by those who had but recently been delivered from the far heavier yoke of Rationalism and infidelity. This fact alone tells more powerfully than volumes of controversial Theology.

We may here be permitted to say that it is taxing the patience of thinking men too much, to see a parallel drawn between the martyrs of science, such as Galileo, and these men who only distinguish themselves as destroyers. Did Copernicus, or after him, Galileo, destroy the previous theory of the heavens, wrong as it was, without submitting another of a more rational and consistent character in its stead? There is no philosophy in destruction, and no skill or merit in pulling down what has secured the admiration and hearty consent of thousands of years. A madman or a feeble child may, either in mischief or fun, destroy the most complicated work of art, which required, perhaps a lifetime of patient study and toil to elaborate. The Christian Missionary, indeed, aims at nothing less than the pulling down of hoary systems of Pagan Mythology, but not without compensating the Hindoo or Buddhist, even in the estimation of the adverse critics of the Bible.

If martyrs, indeed, they are determined to be, we adjudge the same crown of martyrdom to English Neologians which has fallen to the share of their Teutonic fathers, masters, and prototypes. German Rationalism being in a state of collapse, it may be said that "*the wall is no more, neither they that daubed it with untempered mortar.*" But it befits us to remember our Lord's more excellent way of meeting the doubts of one of His chosen twelve. Thomas was not rejected because he *doubted*, as little as Peter because he denied his Master. Who can tell but that it will be "*for the more confirmation of the faith,*" that some are now suffered to be "doubtful" of the historical character and the divine authority of the Pentateuch. There are few in the calm enjoyment of an intelligent faith that will not remember the days when they were harassed with some doubt. Doubts can only be removed by an intelligent conviction. You cannot suppress them by violence. Therefore the precept: "Ye which are spiritual, restore *such an one in the spirit of meekness*, considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted." Remembering this, and *considering himself*, the once naturally fiery Apostle exhorts: "to be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh a reason of the hope that is in you with meekness and fear."

CHAPTER II.

THE UNITY OF THE PENTATEUCH.

§ 1. The Jehovah and Elohim theory. § 2. The divine names in Genesis. § 3. Argument from the name of Jehovah. § 4. Argument from the divine names in the New Testament. § 5. The unity of the three first chapters of Genesis. § 6. Separability of Genesis iv. to Genesis xi. § 7. Separability of Genesis xii. to Genesis xxv. 10. § 8. Separability of Genesis xxv. to Genesis xxxvi. § 9. Separability of Genesis xxxvi. to Genesis L. § 10. Supposed corroborative evidence of dualistic authorship.

§ 1. THE JEHOVAH AND ELOHIM THEORY.

The attempt to destroy the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch, and to substitute a duality or plurality of authors in its stead, was, nothing more or less, than a futile scheme to defend its rejection by a plausible theory; or in other words, to justify a foregone conclusion. It is generally known that almost all the theories which seek to dissolve the unity of the Pentateuch start from the manner in which Elohim, usually given as God, and Jehovah, usually rendered Lord, alternate from Gen. i. to Exod. vi. This indeed is a peculiarity which has been observed from the earliest ages.

Tertullian (21) and Augustine (22) rightly guessed that Jehovah was a more special designation of God than Elohim. But being ignorant of the original, and having to follow the inaccurate rendering of Jehovah by the Septuagint (23), their definitions could neither be accurate nor profound.

Chrysostom also treated on the subject, and, if possible still more superficially. (24) Instead of urging that these two names were used to establish the identity of the two

divine personalities, he submitted that their use was arbitrary, and in so doing he inadvertently paved the way to the hypothesis of a dualistic authorship. If total indifference be asserted as to the use of either name, the door is naturally opened to endless speculation and conjecture.

With the exception of Petrus Lombardus who explained the plural form of *Elohim* from the plurality of persons in the Trinity, and the Rabbinical writers of the middle ages who give some valuable remarks upon it, (25) no writer of importance appears, till we come to Astruc, a Genevan Physician in the middle of the last century. (26) For more than a century past, the Pentateuch has been parcelled out between two principal writers called respectively the Elohimist or the *Elohist* and the *Jehovist*.

The promoters of this theory, each according to his peculiar idiosyncrasy, so modified it, that in many instances it could scarcely be recognised as the same. But in this, all seem to agree, that the almost exclusive use of Jehovah in one part, and of Elohim in the other, indicates at least two authors. Rightly perceiving that the usage could not be purely accidental, they wrongly pronounced Genesis to be the work of several authors. But upon what principle is a theory so pregnant with results and built only upon a very few chapters of Genesis, made to repose?

A certain book is placed in my hands and on examination I find that to the same person two different names are given. The thought strikes me that the occurrence of these two names for the same individual may possibly indicate a different authorship, and forthwith I look for tests to prove my theory and having found a test, or fancying I have found such, I divide the book accordingly among my two imaginary authors. So these critics start with a theory, form certain tests and divide the Pentateuch accordingly; and after ranging certain sections under certain heads with

regard to supposed differences of style and contents, it is found that the larger number of these assignments are not deduced from internal evidence, offered by the passages themselves, but solely from pre-conceived imaginations and theories.

“How great a matter a little fire kindleth” will appear from the small number of the so-called Elohist and Jehovistic passages. The *Elohist* is said to have written Gen. i. to ii. 4, v. 1-18, vi. 9-22, viii. 1-23, ix. 1-18, xvii. xx. 1-16, xxviii. xxxv. The so-called *Jehovistic* passages are Gen. ii. 5, to iv. 19, vii. 1-7, viii. 20-22, xii. 1, xiii. 18, xv. xvi. and xxiv.

The alternation of Elohim and Jehovah was at one time thought to proceed from the author of the Pentateuch having embodied divers documents of earlier date, in which these names were indiscriminately used. This notion has been worn threadbare; first in the so-called fragment-theory, then in the document-hypothesis, where the original is edited and re-edited; and then in the so-called supplement-hypothesis, which supposes an original document supplemented by a variety of authors.

After a century of gigantic but aimless toil such as the German mind alone could sustain, what is the result? Not two men, living or dead, are found to agree. The advocates of the theory are as far asunder as the poles. It is argued that there are sufficient marks to warrant the above-named division of the text, yet not two persons are found to coincide in assigning the several parts to their respective authors. Before faith is claimed for a theory presenting such a chaos of confusion, let the authors, or at least the advocates of this literary dream show their own agreement. It will be time for lay and unprofessional students of the Bible to feel disquieted when they find any two of the leading experts in complete accord, as regards any one branch of criticism. What faith can the uninitiated be expected to repose in a

criticism or a theory, which in the hand of its ablest and most authoritative exponents, admits of such wide and fundamental discrepancies as meet us at every turn? One of the critics divides Genesis into 81, another into 59, another into 89 sections. In 27 of these, neither of the two names occurs; and 16 of these are by one assigned to the Elohist. In four places, Gen. iv. 25, ix. 29, xxii. 12, xxxvii. 28, to save the theory, Elohim is changed into Jehovah. In two other passages Gen. xvii. 1, xxii. 10, Jehovah is changed into Elohim. In other terms where the text is adverse to the theory, the theory is not by any means to be touched, but violence is done to the *text*, and that with the utmost coolness. To name only one more flagrant case, the last *three* words of Gen. vii. 16, are transferred to verse 9! Even were no high interest at stake, such criticism could neither command respect nor inspire confidence.

Yet the theory has been a dead weight to men of acknowledged excellency. Delitzsch, for instance, believes the greater part of the Pentateuch to be the work of Moses, but drawn in part from other sources.

He says:—

“If according to Von Lengerke the Elohist wrote in the time of Solomon, and the compiler in that of Hezekiah; if according to Tuch, the former under Saul and the latter under Solomon; according to Bleek, the former under Saul or the Judges, the latter in the beginning of David’s reign; and according to Staehelin, the former in the time of the Judges, the latter under Saul,—there is nothing to prevent our taking another step backwards and placing the Elohist in the time of Moses and the compiler in that of Joshua. The assumption of the possibility of the case secures to our criticism the necessary freedom, which modern criticism from Eichhorn to Lengerke had not. Modern criticism is not free, for though innumerable external and internal evidences

should render the Mosaic origin ever so certain, yet it dare not acknowledge that origin. On the contrary, by its avowed principles it must consider the contents of the Pentateuch to be a texture of history and *mythus*, and that of different ages. The dogmatical prejudices of the critics deprive them of the necessary freedom of thought: for according to them, there is no divine revelation, no miraculous interposition, and no prophecy resulting from immediate inspiration." (27)

To this we simply add, that if the origin of the so-called *Grundschrift* or groundwork of Genesis be placed in the days of Moses by so able a divine as the one now quoted, what should prevent us from admitting that the assumed Elohist and Jehovist are none other than Moses; in one and the same person; and from maintaining that no necessity whatever exists for infringing upon the unity of the Pentateuch.

§ 2. THE DIVINE NAMES IN GENESIS.

In repelling a theory based on a foundation which would be insufficient in any other branch of science, mistakes have doubtless been made by some eminent German divines in attempting to prove and to explain too much; and with a view to discredit their labours, no very honourable advantage has been taken of this fact by a recent writer in England. But it may be regarded as a good omen in the controversy, that some of the upholders of the above hypothesis admit, that much which was formerly considered indicative of a dualistic origin, is now allowed to be fanciful. For the sake of clearness we shall bring the subject under the following heads.

1. The name of Jehovah gradually (28) came to be applied to God, as the divine character of the Redeemer was revealed and recognised. Elohim (29) was the name of God as the Creator and Judge of the world. Roman i. 20. Jehovah is the God of the Covenant, or the God of Israel. Elohim is the

God of the whole earth. Not, however, as if Elohim were not the God of Israel. On the contrary, God reveals Himself to Israel as Elohim, since the Jews, in spite of their separation, continue a part of the human race, and Elohim frequently occurs where we should have expected Jehovah; and again, both are often united as Jehovah-Elohim. The choice of each name was doubtless influenced by the specific character of the subject; and it was with regard to this that the author employs Elohim in the first, Jehovah-Elohim in the second, and Jehovah alone, in the fourth chapter of Genesis.

The reader was thus to be familiarised with the use of these names respectively. Moses wrote after his call: it was when called by God that the identification of Elohim and Jehovah was solemnly made. Ex. iii. 6, 13, 15. We perceive, therefore, at the very outset that the writer of the Pentateuch desired, as it were, to raise his readers to the very point from which he wrote. This was necessary, on account of the prevailing idolatry at that period. No uncertainty should or could, therefore, exist as to the fundamental dogma, which was to form an antidote to Polytheism in all its forms.

When the oneness of Jehovah and Elohim was once established by the designation of Jehovah-Elohim, the one or the other is used until an urgent occasion arises in Ex. ix. 30 for the use of both. The same attributes are ascribed to both names indifferently; and it is useless to attempt, in every single instance, to connect the particular name with the contents of the respective sections in which they occur. We can, in most cases, clearly comprehend the use of the one name or the other, just as we are generally able to account for the use of a particular name of God in the New Testament. But considerations may have operated in the one case, and in the other for the use of a particular name, which, must ever remain a secret to us, since no intimation is given to account for it.

2. It is admitted by Tuch and Knobel that the exclusive use, first of Elohim, then of Jehovah-Elohim, and the subsequent alternation of both names in the first four chapters of Genesis are quite consistent with the assumption that they proceeded from one and the same author; and this concession being made we need not waste words. The less said on either side the better.

In Gen. v. 1-24, we have Elohim because it refers back to the creation in chap. i.; and in verse 29, we have Jehovah as going back to Gen. iii. 17. In this chapter Enoch is said to have walked with Elohim, and this *personal* or Ha-Elohim, with the article, "took him."

Elohim sees that the wickedness is great; Jehovah repents that he made man upon the earth; and Jehovah also, in whose eyes Noah finds favour, resolves upon the flood, which implies redemption as well as judgment, vi. 7. If the execution of the judgment is ascribed to Elohim, verse 11, 12, this might certainly favour a dualistic authorship. But such an assumption of two writers will not explain how it comes that in vii. 16, both names are closely united. Again Jehovah and Elohim occur together in ix. 26, 27, and that in a way which satisfies both the friends and foes of the theory under consideration that these names are used with a conscious discrimination of their respective signification. But if the names have their true meaning in ix. 26, 27, it cannot be safe to avoid a self-created difficulty by assuming an interpolation of Jehovah in vii. 16.

Elohim destroys His own work of creation, preserving seed alive for a new order of things. But since there was here not only judgment to the wicked, but grace to the remnant that is saved and reserved for future purposes of mercy, *Jehovah* shut them in. Noah, however, walked with Elohim, because walking with Jehovah was impossible prior to the covenant of Jehovah with Abraham and his seed.

A great support for the hypothesis of a double authorship was thought to exist in vii. 1, 5, where Jehovah directs Noah to take of every clean beast "by sevens, the male and the female," whilst Elohim, in vi. 19, 20, commands him to take *two* of every living thing. In like manner, Elohim bids Noah to go forth, and when gone forth, Noah sacrifices to Jehovah.

The name of Jehovah has here its proper signification in both passages. Jehovah, in mercy, shut the ark, and thus assumes the work of preservation. The sacrifices are brought, not to Elohim, the Judge and the Creator, but to Jehovah, the God of grace; and it was Jehovah also, that had to provide for these sacrifices by forewarning Noah, vii. 1-5. The covenant, with wonderful consistency, is not made with Jehovah, to whom the sacrifices are offered, but with Elohim, ix. 1-9, because the covenant was not one of grace but of nature, ensuring the preservation of all things created for times to come. With equal significance both names alternate in the blessing of Noah, ix. 26, 27, since it is Elohim that makes Japheth to spread and it is Jehovah who is specially glorified among Shem.

As regards the supposed contradiction of two imaginary authors between vi. 19, and vii. 2, 3, it may suffice to state that the *general* directions were naturally given *first*, *i.e.*, 120 years before the flood; whilst the latter and more minute command, as to the number of clean animals, was given only seven days before the flood, when all was in readiness, and when more specific directions were required. It is a matter of daily occurrence that detailed orders are given in addition to general directions. Had it been the reverse, so that in the first command *seven*, and in the second only *two*, were directed to be saved, there might have been some cause for anxiety. Indeed, the only addition in the second command refers to the *clean* animals, not to the animals in general.

In addition to this, it will be noticed that in the first direction, vi. 19, 20, two are named—not to keep *them* alive, as our version gives it, but to *keep alive*. They were not to be killed. In vii. 3, the command is to bring seven of the clean, not to *keep alive*, but referring to both clean and unclean animals it is added, “to *keep seed alive* upon the earth,” which *seed*, doubtless, was reduced to the pair of each, whilst the others served for sacrifice and food during and after the flood. That the direction about the seven was simply an addition to a previous command may be seen from vii. 8, 9.

3. It is argued that in Gen. x. 9, the expression that Nimrod was a mighty hunter before Jehovah, could only have been written by a writer who was unacquainted with any other divine name but that of Jehovah, since Elohim, it is thought, would have been the more appropriate name. It is said that if the names of Elohim and Jehovah were alternately used according to the sense and context, the most holy name could not have been inserted in the description of a mighty hunter! Much less, it might be added, could it be supposed that Jehovah Himself could have acknowledged these merits of a far-famed huntsman! Yet we maintain that no divine name was ever chosen more appropriately.

Names were often assumed or given to men in advanced years. Nimrod signifies, “*we will rebel*.” This could not mean against any constituted human authority, since there was no such in his days. It can only mean that he was professedly the avowed rebel against Jehovah. He rebelled against God, and that divine decree which doomed Ham, his ancestor to a state of servitude and subjection; and became, not only the first tyrant, and the founder of Babylon, but the representative type and originator of all enmity against God and His Christ. The words “before Jehovah” signify more literally *in the face of Jehovah, against Jehovah*.

When Nimrod heard of the curse of God upon him and his

brethren, he made his watchword, "we rebel." That the expression "before Jehovah" can therefore only mean *in spite* of Jehovah, resisting Jehovah to the face—has been anticipated already by Josephus and the Targumim as well as by the Septuagint, to which the reader is referred.

Had this, the real character of the primitive *anti-Christ* or *anti-Jehovah* been discerned in Nimrod,—who proves to be the founder of that very Babel which has ever been the enemy of God's Church and people,—and had it been understood that Nimrod was the originator of all the systematic opposition to God and the truth of God, there would have been no cavil at the passage in question, but admiration of the marvellous choice of the name of Jehovah.

What has been stated of the character of Nimrod will explain the appropriate use of the name of Jehovah in xi. 5, 9; since the building of the tower of what was afterwards called Babel, was part of that *rebellion* of the Nimrodites against the plans of mercy, which Jehovah had with mankind. Hence it is Jehovah who appropriately interferes.

4. In Gen. xii. to xvi. the name of Elohim disappears and Jehovah prevails: for Abraham's call, and the covenant made with him as preparatory to the subsequent covenant with Israel, could only proceed from the same Jehovah. Again, if the use of Elohim and Jehovah respectively imply two kinds of documents, so must of necessity the name of *Most High God* in chap. xiv. 22, and of *Adonai*, in xv. 2, 8, and of *El Shaddai*, in xvii. 1.

In the remainder of Genesis we have the same alternation of Jehovah, Elohim, Ha Elohim, and El Shaddai, with due regard to the meaning of each name; and every unprejudiced mind must see that not only can these names afford no ground for separation, but that the text is so linked together, that, without violence, it cannot be separated.

In Gen. xxxi. 3, *e.g.*, Jehovah is said to have spoken unto

Jacob. But Jacob himself says in the speech which follows verse 7; "*Elohim* suffered him not to hurt me." Again, Gen. xxix. *Jehovah* is used, Gen. xxx. *Elohim*. In Gen. xxii. "the angel of the Lord" addresses Abraham, and says in the next verse, "now I know that thou fearest *Elohim*." Much earlier, Gen. vii. 16, all went into the ark as *Elohim* commanded Noah, and *Jehovah* shut him in. In Gen. xxvii. 27; "As the smell of the field which *Jehovah* has blessed." Therefore, *Elohim*, give thee of the dew of heaven." Exod. iii. 4. "When *Jehovah* saw that he turned aside to see, *Elohim* called unto him out of the midst of the bush." In Exod. ix. 29, 30, we have the same corroboration. In Exod. xix. 3, Moses went up unto *Elohim*, and *Jehovah* called unto him. The same is seen Gen. xviii. 1:—Jethro hears of all that *Elohim* had done for Moses, and that *Jehovah* had brought Israel out of Egypt. In Gen. i. 1, *Elohim* creates heaven and earth; in Exod. xx. 11, *Jehovah*, in six days, made heaven and earth, and in Numb. xxvii. 16, *Jehovah* is the *Elohim* of the spirits of all flesh.

§ 3. ARGUMENT FROM THE NAME OF JEHOVAH.

Some assume that the account in Ex. vi. of the name *Jehovah* being then revealed, is a mere make-believe. With such there can be no argument. But it is accounted strange by others that the name is stated not to have been known before it was revealed to Moses, whilst that very name had been freely used in previous ages.

It must be borne in mind that we have twice a solemn identification of the names *Jehovah* and *Elohim*: once at the beginning, when God entered into covenant with mankind viz., in Gen. ii. and again in Ex. iii. when God entered into covenant with Israel.

It was however on the opening of a fresh dispensation

on the latter occasion, that the name Jehovah became the *nomen proprium* for future ages.

The expression, "I was not known to them" Ex. vi. 3, cannot mean, as some suppose, that the name was altogether unknown before that passage was written, whenever that may have been. On the contrary, the sense is simply that this covenant name was not known to the fathers in its full meaning as *nomen proprium*, by actual experience. This is the emphatic sense in the original, (30) and is confirmed by Ez. xx. 9, and xxxviii. 23.

The name of Jehovah was indeed known to the fathers, but the *experience* of the gracious significance was only revealed with the Exodus, when Elohim makes Himself known as the Redeemer of Israel. Jehovah then only becomes the name of the God of the *chosen people*, just as Jehovah, verse 15, was the God of the fathers, of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

Those who deny this and consider it unnatural or forced, forget that even Astruc, the author of the theory, maintained the right view of this passage; he says:—

"Le passage de l'Exode bien entendu ne prouve point que le nom de Jehova fut un nom de Dieu inconnu aux Patriarches et revelé à Moïse le premier, mais prouve seulement que Dieu n'avoit pas fait connoître aux Patriarches toute l'entendue de la signification de ce nom, au lieu qu'il l'a manifestée à Moïse."

There is a great beauty and force in the announcement to Moses, Ex. iii. 12, "Certainly I will be with thee," when we take it in connection with the meaning of Jehovah. Very significant too, become the words: "The *I AM* hath sent me." (31) By Ex. vi. 2, is therefore neither the external acquaintance with the name Jehovah nor the sporadic and prophetic manifestation of its meaning excluded. It was not the promulgation, but the revelation of the name which is here set forth. And is there not an organic connection of prophecy and fulfilment? Scripture nowhere tears asunder the

different stages of revelation so as to lose sight of their oneness. It is rather a peculiarity of the Bible to make the less perfect, dissolve in the sight of the more perfect revelation of divine truth. Have we not, *e.g.*, manifestations of God in human *form* prior to that dispensation in which "the Word was made flesh" and appeared in human nature?

We read John i. 17, that the law was given by Moses, but that grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. Yet, is it meant by this that grace was foreign to the old dispensation? Again, John vii. 39, we read that the Holy Ghost "*was not yet*," because Jesus was not yet glorified. Yet, who would infer from this that the operations of the Spirit were altogether unknown before Christ was glorified? Ex. vi. 2, will not fail to be explained by these parallel passages, where no theory is at stake.

Those who assume that Samuel is the Elohist who *forged* the groundword of the Pentateuch, and that some other writer supplied the so-called Jehovistic portions, putting the name of Jehovah "into the mouths of persons of all classes, from the days of Eve downwards," evidently overlook the fact, that if the existence of Moses was problematical, and the Exodus a myth, Samuel could not have existed as described in the Bible: for it would be impossible to believe that so good and pure a character as Samuel should have deliberately forged the Pentateuch, or any part of it.

Yet it is coolly argued that this Samuel fabricated Ex. iii. and vi. and gave a fabulous account of the time and the manner in which the name of Jehovah was introduced, in order to secure a gracious reception for it on its first introduction, or, if introduced before his time, to make it general! That the name of Jehovah was not in existence before Samuel, is inferred from the frequent occurrence of Elohim in compound names, whilst that of Jehovah is said never to occur in such. (32)

We submit the following :—

1. It is more than doubtful whether all the names quoted as compounds of Elohim are really such. If all the names with El at the beginning or at the end be such, then we may add Abel, *e.g.*, to the list, and in contradiction to the ordinary rendering of it by "*vanity*," one judging from the English Bible might choose to give it as the "father of God." But it does not always follow that the word in which "El" occurs is necessarily a compound of Elohim. Without carrying the subject into detail, not less than twelve instances at this moment occur to me, where the root *El*, or *Al*, has an entirely different sense in Hebrew and other cognate languages. When therefore the syllable, *El*, occurs in a name, it may be derived from any one of these dozen roots, or from any other *radix* which may now be lost.

Again, if it be argued that the books of Judges and Ruth, which are the only writings between Joshua and Samuel, contain, like the Pentateuch and Joshua, *many* compounds of El or Elohim, we reply, that there appear to be only two names so compounded, whilst on the other hand there are four compounded with Jehovah, viz., Joath, Jotham, Micah, or Micaiah, and Jonathan.

2. If a modern critic had found it convenient to his argument to say that we have compounds of *Jehovah* in Adah, Zillah, Deborah, Dumah, Elah, Gomorrah, Hannah, Leah, Marah, Noah, Raamah, Rebekah, Reumah, Samlah, Sarah, Serah, Marah, Shuah, Judah, Zilpah, and others with the like termination (there being no insurmountable grammatical or philological objection to their being compounds of *Jehovah*), as well as Shephatiah, Jedidiah, Benaiah, Uriah, or Jeremiah, who would venture to disprove it? Again, as regards the compounds with the prefix *Jo* or *Je* in Jonadab, Jonathan, Jehoiada, and Jehosaphat, which are quoted as compounds of *Jehovah* after the time of David, what should

hinder us from placing by their side Jerah, Jericho, Jehoshua, Jethro, Jether, Jochebed, Jokshan, Joktan, and others, from the Pentateuch?

Cases which are self-evident, such as Jehoshuah and Jochebed, are disposed of by some with wonderful facility by pronouncing them interpolations, the fraudulent product of a later age.

3. German critics have sometimes appealed to the fact that the names compounded with Jehovah become more numerous in the later books of the Bible. But an English Bishop, after seeking to deprive the Church of the Pentateuch, in order to uphold his theory, an English critic assails the book of Chronicles by charging its author with *inventing* names and thrusting them into the earlier portions of the genealogies. See Colenso, Part ii. p. 236, 237.

This charge heavily recoils upon so reckless a critic, when it is recollected, that of the 147 names, he adduces as compounds of Elohim in Genesis, very few can, with anything like safety, be held to be such.

4. We are required to believe upon evidence from the Psalms, that the name, Jehovah became first current about the middle of David's life; but of all the uncertain points in Scripture chronology, scarcely one is more difficult than that of fixing the periods of the several Psalms.

5. It is argued that if Ex. vi. were historically true, and known to David as such, he would not for a long period have written Psalms omitting the name Jehovah; and hence it is taken for granted that the so-called Elohistie Psalms were the earliest. This judgment is based upon no independent evidence as to the composition of each Psalm; on the contrary, a fallacious, but a supposed infallible test is set up, and everything is made to bend to it.

6. With this pompous but baseless theory, the scheme of classifying the Psalms by the Elohim and Jehovah standard,

falls to the ground. An unbiassed examination of the Psalms will lead to the conviction that this theory is untenable. Delitzsch, who, in this matter, is surely an impartial witness in the eyes of our opponents, frankly admits that the inference of different authorship in so-called Elohimic and Jehovistic Psalms would be most unwarranted.

7. In all ages and by all critics the Pentateuch has been considered prior to the later books; but we are now taught that Num. x. 35 is borrowed from Ps. lxxviii. 1, 2. The early Elohim is said to have been changed into the late Jehovah. The third book of Psalms, to which this Psalm belongs, is thus alluded to by Hupfeld:—

“No internal grounds can be given to explain the use of the name Elohim in the third Book, &c., &c., which is by no means accidental, for where *older* pieces or songs are imitated, for instance, Ps. lxxviii., the more ancient name of *Jehovah* is changed into Elohim.” (33)

What a painful confusion the opinions of the negative critics present; and yet they individually expect their words in Biblical criticism to be law.

8. Again, the theory is inconsistent with itself. It is asserted by its most recent advocate that Elohim is the most ancient name, and Jehovah only introduced by Samuel. As we proceed downward, there is said to be an increase of the name of Jehovah, and a decrease of that of Elohim. According to this theory, the third book of Psalms, that of Asaph, would repeat the name of Jehovah more frequently than that of Elohim. But it is admitted that it does the reverse, and yet the defenders of these theories fail to see that this admission annihilates their hypothesis.

9. Again, the books of Ezra and Nehemiah being later, ought still more to confirm this theory, which they would do, were they to contain an increased number of the name of Jehovah, and fewer of that of Elohim. Yet, on counting up

these names, Dr. Colenso finds to his surprise, that in "Ezra we have Elohim 97 times, and Jehovah 37 times; whilst in Nehemiah Elohim occurs 74 times, and Jehovah 17 times." Yet all this is seen and reckoned up without perceiving that every figure goes right against the theory.

10. Again we read:—

"It would almost seem that after their long sojourn as captives in a strange land, when Israel no longer existed as a nation, they had begun to discontinue the use of the national name for the Divine Being. However, if so, it must soon have revived since we find the later prophets again using the word freely. At a still later time, superstitious scruples prevailed so far as to prevent the name of Jehovah being used at all." (34)

If such causes operated to increase or to diminish the use of certain names in ages nearer to our own, is it not rational and consistent to assume that similar causes may have operated in more remote periods of which we have still less information?

11. We read further:—

"There can be no doubt that the whole collection of Psalms was formed *gradually*; Book I. having been first formed, and then Book II., &c." page 318.

If this be true, and there is every cause to think that the Psalms were arranged chronologically—not like the Suras of the Koran—then we may take for granted that the Psalms stand now pretty much as they were composed. Now, the result of Dr. Colenso's computations of the Psalms, as they stand, is as follows. In Book I. he finds the name Jehovah four times to one of Elohim. In Book II., Jehovah is named once where Elohim is named six times. Book III. has four times Jehovah to six times Elohim; Book IV., four times Jehovah to once Elohim; and Book V., seven times Jehovah to Elohim once.

From such a calculation the reader may infer anything or nothing. But one thing is certain, there is no gradual change from Elohim to Jehovah which there would be, if the theory were true. The first book leaves the matter exactly where the fifth book takes it up. The name of Jehovah occurs in the one as often as in the other. From the other figures, no inference can be drawn except from those of Book V., which "being mostly liturgical," the name of Jehovah appears most appropriately seven times, where Elohim is introduced but once.

12. The Books of Chronicles, because they will not favour the arguments of modern criticism, are declared a fraud. The Books of Samuel are said to be a forgery, because they put the name Jehovah more frequently into the mouth of David than the name Elohim, and that at the very time, when David was writing Elohistic Psalms. And why are the Books of Samuel thus rudely assailed? Because this negative criticism desires to prove the Pentateuch to be non-Mosaic in its origin; and to disprove the Mosaic origin it is compelled to fish in all waters. But the Pentateuch, the Books of Chronicles and Samuel are not enough to sacrifice to this theory.

13. We have seen before that Num. x. 35, is said to have been borrowed from Ps. lxxviii. 1—2. We are next informed, against all evidence, that Judges v. 4 is also imitated from Psalm lxxviii. 1—2. Nor is that all. In opposition to all other critics on his own side, and contrary to all sound reasoning, Dr. Colenso desires us to believe that those passages in national hymns, the origin and occasion of which we *positively know*, are imitations of a Psalm, of which the origin and occasion may have been such as are ascribed to it by some critics, but concerning which we *know nothing*.

14. In some Psalms Elohim prevails, in others Jehovah, yet some of each of these Psalms are ascribed to David. Take

a parallel case. In the greater part of Daniel, Elohim is used, but in Dan. ix. Jehovah prevails; yet both De Wette and Bleek maintain that this is no valid argument against the unity of that book of prophecy. If one and the same author could use both names within two verses of each other, and if another could use one or other of them for several chapters, and then change, why should the same phenomenon in Genesis imply a diversity of authorship?

Or will it be said that the book of Proverbs is written by the Jehovist of Genesis, because Elohim occurs in it only six times whilst Jehovah occurs 59 times? Or is Ecclesiastes compiled by the Elohist of Genesis because the name of Jehovah is never mentioned there at all? In the book of Esther and the Song of Songs neither name is to be found. In the book of Job the name of Jehovah occurs seventeen times in the first two chapters, but only once in the next thirty-six chapters, and in the xlii. chapter eight times. Is this a proof of dualistic authorship in the book of Job?

15. The assumption therefore that the name of Elohim in the Psalms is a mark of antiquity, and that of Jehovah a mark of novelty is destitute of the least shadow of evidence. The arguments in favour of the theory are derived from so partial an examination, that three of the five books of the Psalms are almost entirely omitted. In those Psalms ascribed, alike by friends and foes, to David, we certainly find a marked difference of style, but this is perfectly explicable from the history of their author and the vicissitudes of his eventful life, which embraced a period of more than sixty years. We have marks of high antiquity in the eminently elliptical, rugged, and obscure style of some Davidic Psalms, whilst others are more polished and simple; each class bearing, it would seem, the impress of the different periods of his life, in which he was either the fervent shepherd lad of Bethlehem, or the more polished, powerful, and aged King of Israel. And what is

most to our purpose, those Psalms which were written at an early age, and which bear marks of the ruder style of that age, are at least as often Jehovistic as Elohistie.

It is unquestionably admitted that David wrote Psalms in some of which, for special reasons, known perhaps only to himself, he employed the name of Elohim, in others the name of Jehovah. Now, if this be the case in the life of one author, why may not similar unknown causes have operated as regards the writer of the Pentateuch, to determine the use of either name as we now have it?

The writer of these pages has himself passed through certain early stages of his religious life, when from reasons easy to be explained, he addressed his private devotions almost exclusively to the second person of the blessed Trinity, and also used that Holy name more prominently in his correspondence; and he is aware that many at the same age and under similar circumstances do the same to this hour. Yet how preposterous it would be to build any theory, however trivial, upon such a fact! If, then, it were folly to make any hazardous deductions from the more frequent use of certain divine names in the case of an ordinary individual, where an easy solution could be furnished, how much more so in the case of Moses or David?

Admitting then, for argument's sake, that no single author would have used the name Elohim in almost every other verse in one chapter, and in another, the name of Jehovah as frequently, all that could be inferred from this would be, either that the author wrote different portions of his work at different times of life; or else, that in the composition of his history he had recourse to documents or ancient traditions. These ancient records, whether written or oral, would have been Elohistie, and Moses himself the Jehovistic writer. Both assumptions, however, are rendered alike superfluous by what has been advanced.

16. We have no positive authority that Hebrew was the language of our first parents. If it was not, then we must read the passage, "I have gotten a man of Jehovah" as a Hebrew translation of what she really said. And, if this were so, then the name, Jehovah in that exclamation of Eve, is only the rendering of the ancient name of God by that very name, which, when the historian recorded it, had become familiar to his readers. The same might be true of Abraham, whose name is not pure Hebrew; for though Jacob gives a Hebrew name to a certain place, Laban, Abraham's nephew,—who had continued to dwell in the old home when Abraham migrated westward,—still speaking the Aramaean dialect, gives the same place a Chaldean name.

If Eve spoke not Hebrew, then the name of Cain is also a version from some other tongue. A similar translation of names we have in the case of Daniel, Thomas, Peter, Tabitha, and others. Hence we argue that the name of Jehovah, when occurring in the earliest parts of Genesis, might have been a version from an equivalent in some more primitive tongue. But there is no need of any such far-fetched argument.

17. Lastly, that the name Jehovah was not a late production, but must have been of high antiquity, is proved from its very lexicographical or grammatical form. We have shown in note 28, that the name Jehovah is clearly derived from an obsolete form, which is indeed normal in the cognate Aramaic dialects, *e.g.*, in Chaldee and Syriac, but not in the Hebrew, so that it could not possibly have arisen later than Moses; but it is highly probable, that it was in use long before him. At all events, there is no period between Moses and Samuel in which such a coinage by a forger would have been possible: since the Jews spoke Hebrew, not Chaldee, in Canaan, and the use of Jehovah as the third pers. sing. of the verb *to be*, indicates Hebrew of such remote antiquity as to antedate all that has come down to us by any written document.

§ 4. ARGUMENT FROM THE DIVINE NAMES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

It has been shown that in most cases the writer of the Pentateuch had a distinct purpose in choosing either Elohim or Jehovah; we acknowledge a principle in the varying use of these appellations, and we can see in most cases the laws upon which it acts, but we must not expect in the higher spheres of spiritual truth what we seek in vain in the lower spheres of nature, *i.e.*, full satisfaction, and perfect solution of every difficulty.

As the covenant name, Jehovah, contained something mysterious and inexplicable, so does the covenant name of God under the Gospel, into which we are baptized. In Father, Son, and Spirit we have neither a mere abstract Divinity with accidental differences, nor a number of single deities, but one living, incomparable, incomprehensible, unspeakable God. To every inquiry as to His nature, He replies in the New Testament, "I am that I am, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." But the mystery of this subject neither philosophical nor ecclesiastical definitions will be able ever fully to explain.

As the names of Elohim and Jehovah, in the Old Testament, are respectively used with regard to their different senses, so the name of God as Father, Son, and Spirit are employed in the New Testament. Yet whilst we can generally understand why the name of Christ is used more frequently than that of Jesus, and the name of the Holy Ghost less frequently than those of the first or second person of the Trinity, we should aim too high, were we to attempt to explain the reasons in all cases. What confusion would arise, if at some future age the critics of the Bible were to divide and subdivide the New Testament according to the more or less frequent occurrence of one or other, of the divine names.

Let us take the Epistles ascribed to St. Paul or St. John. The subjoined tabular view of these writings chronologically arranged, giving the sum total of the occurrence of each name in each Epistle, will go far to lay bare the utter folly of the Jehovah and Elohim theory. (35) A careful study of the text and context will throw much light upon the use of these names. But in order to obtain the full benefit of this parallel, let us suppose the case of some future critic setting aside the historical testimony of the authorship of St. Paul's or St. John's Epistles, and analysing them by the test so wantonly applied to the Pentateuch; what strange results would it produce! The confusion would be increased, were the subdivision carried into chapters and verses as in the Pentateuch.

It might indeed appear startling that some names are repeated many times in a single chapter, which do not once occur in other entire Epistles. To give but one example: the Holy Ghost is named nineteen times in Rom. viii., whilst He is not named at all, or very seldom in other whole chapters or entire Epistles. Another point is noteworthy. The name of Jesus seems to preponderate over that of Christ in the Apostolic writings of later date, compared with those written at an earlier period. A mere glance at this parallel case of the New Testament will satisfy every unbiassed reader that this scheme, put forth for destroying the unity of the Pentateuch, is utterly futile.

§ 5. THE UNITY OF THE FIRST THREE CHAPTERS IN GENESIS.

Other arguments have been used to disprove the unity of the Pentateuch. Not only the places and manner in which the names of Elohim and Jehovah occur, but also the contents of the Pentateuch itself have been pressed into this ignoble service.

Foremost is placed the objection that in Gen. ii. we are

furnished with a second and contradictory cosmogony, (36) the first, according to Eichhorn, being composed to serve as an accompaniment to the Hebrew dances! For the sake of clearness we submit the following points:

1. Glancing first at the inscription of the disputed paragraph, we submit, that the words, "These are the generations of heaven and earth," imply indeed a *new section*, but not a *second account* of creation from another hand. The *formula*, "These are the generations" occurs indeed ten times in Genesis, and in each case it opens one of the genealogical sections into which the book divides itself. But none has, as yet, tried to show that each *Tholedoth* or genealogy was written by a separate hand: nor has it been suspected that there is a third cosmogony in Gen. v. 1, 2.

Again, it is doing violence to the text to take Gen. ii. 4, as referring at all to the process of creation. It could not be taken as a subscription to the cosmogony in Gen. i. as some have taken it, because the term *Tholedoth*, generation, (37) signifies the offspring and history of families, rather than the birth and origin of mankind and the world. It is therefore philologically impossible to apply it to any cosmogony. In the *generations* of Adam and Noah, *e.g.*, we read not of their *own* origin and birth, but of their history and the history of the progeny.

It is *theologically* inaccurate to speak of the creation Gen. ii. as *Tholedoth*, or generations. The Mosaic cosmogony admits of no generative productions or geogonic evolutions. Chap. i. records the *creation* of heaven and earth, not of the production of them; and it is quite a different thing when we read of productions like these: "Let the earth bring forth." It may be well for the better understanding of the so-called second cosmogony to observe at the outset, that the book of Genesis, in its internal structure, adopts the form of *Tholedoth* or generations. We have here nothing of the

artistic historiography of the ancient Greeks, but the whole is grouped around the apparently dry form of *genealogy* as the safest and simplest form of ancient record. Genealogy was indeed the very meetest form for the book which had to do, not only with the *beginnings* of Theocracy, but with the Genesis of the world and mankind itself.

As Deuteronomy, in its exhortative style, adopted the *decalogical* form, making, as it does, a strictly consecutive practical commentary of the ten commandments, so in Genesis we have ten generations, or Thloedoth, of which five belong to the primitive catholic, and five to the patriarchal period. (38) Thus the very frame-work, which it is attempted to dislocate, is a pragmatival, genetical, genealogical catenation, as real and actual as that of generation and birth, of father and son, and as inseparable as cause and effect.

The *Jehovah-Elohim* which occurs twenty times in Gen. ii. 4 to iii. 24, has been a sad trouble to the opponents of the unity of the Pentateuch. Yet true to the literal sense of Thloedoth we enter here upon the *history* of created things. We have the significant combination of the great divine names, Jehovah-Elohim, to show that the God of history was none other than the God of Creation. Elohim was required in Gen. i.; Jehovah was introduced where needed. Their union binds together Creation with history and redemption. Jehovah is none other than Elohim. But the next few chapters at once show the necessity of the revelation of God as Jehovah. *Jehovah-Elohim* is no less the anagram of general history than *Jesus Christ* is the anagram of the Gospel dispensation.

2. That the paragraph does *not* purport to be a second cosmogony may be inferred from what has been stated. Gen. i. to ii. 3 stands by itself, and forms, as it were, the solid base of the whole of the ten generations, and as such, is not counted as a member of the decalogical Thloedoth; these Thloedoth rather rest upon it as their pedestal.

The whole blunder seems to have arisen from the great anxiety to elaborate some more plausible cause for rejecting the Pentateuch, than the theory concerning the two great divine names could afford. In this anxiety it was quite overlooked that there is not only a sequence of time, but also a sequence of thought and idea. Had this been remembered, Theology would never have had to combat such an objection.

Quite apart from the difference between *creating* in chap. i. and *forming* and *planting* in chap. ii. (39) we are supplied with a more detailed account of the creation of the first pair, which as yet was wanting, and with a description of their original abode. Both circumstances were of the utmost importance for the better understanding of the approaching crisis and the future history of mankind.

Why is it, if not for these reasons, that we read chap. ii. of the *field* instead of the *ground*, and of the *herb* of the *field*, and the *beast* of the *field*, and the *plant* of the *field*, instead of the general term, *earth*, used in chap. i. 2. Yea more than this, instead of the *ground* or *earth* of chap. i. we read chap. ii. of the *garden* as the original abode of man.

Again how could we have understood the nature and history of man without knowing of man's creation out of the dust of the earth; the inbreathing of God; the tree of knowledge; and the formation of the woman as bearing upon her relation to man?

Then, if there be allusions to the creation throughout the Bible,—without the idea of a fresh cosmogony suggesting itself in each such allusion,—what is more characteristic of Hebrew historiography and Semitic chronicles in general, than the constant repetitions which are peculiar to oriental description to this hour? However strange this may sound to occidental ears, neither the inscriptions, nor the well defined sections, nor repetitions can consistently be urged as a ground for the separation of Genesis; for it has been proved

by one in the ranks of the opposition, and may easily be proved again, that all these, especially the repetitions, are essential peculiarities of all Semitic historiography. (40)

3. It is said that in the first Cosmogony, the earth emerges from the water and was therefore saturated with moisture, chap. i. 9, 10, whilst in the second account, the earth requires to be moistened, ii. 6.

Here are several misconceptions. First, we read, not only that the earth emerged from the water, but also that the *dry* land appeared. The *dry* earth was therefore *not* saturated with moisture. Then secondly in Gen. ii. 5, we are told nothing of the earth emerging either from fire or water; but simply that the *field*, not the earth generally, required two things to make it fruitful, viz., rain, and man to till the ground. The rain is supplied by the mist, and man is formed to till the ground.

It is, therefore the *face* of the ground, the alluvial soil, the garden mould, as it were, which required moisture, and not the whole stratified crust of the earth. We now take the view of the opponents for argument's sake; and argue from their point of view that the absence of plants and herbs, which is supposed to be implied in Gen. ii. 5, may refer simply to wheat, dates, and other fruits of the earth are only the produce of cultivation, and never grow wild. The various kinds of produce, it may be assumed, were in existence, but Adam was to dress and keep them, and their culture awaited the advent of man to till the ground. But we shall return to this in connection with another subject.

4. It is secondly objected that in Gen. i. 20, 24, 26, the birds and beasts are created before man, whilst in Gen. ii. 7, 19, man is represented to have been created before the birds and beasts. But how is it in reality?

The "not good" chap. ii. 18, must have preceded the "very good" i. 31, and the statement, "God created man in his

own image, in the image of God created he him, male and female, created he them" i. 27, clearly demands this. What therefore is stated ii. 18, of the creation, "of every beast of the field and of every fowl of the air" falls necessarily within the limits of the hexameron. There is no avoiding this, in good faith.

And where is the difficulty? The mention of the beasts and fowls in Gen. ii. is simply to show their relation to man, and this in perfect harmony with the Semitic principle of historiography. Instead of recurring to the creation of the animals, according to our mode of relation as a fact already accomplished, by saying "God brought the animals which He *had* formed out of the ground, to Adam," there is in this purely Semitic form of narration, a blending of the past with the present as if both events were co-ordinate in point of time.

As a proof that Gen. ii. is not intended to fix the *time* of the several creations, but simply to point out man's relation to these animals, we refer to the striking fact, that verse 19 only names the *tame* "beasts" of the *field*, not the wild "beasts of of the earth" in chap. i., which are quite different in the original, and which stood more remotely from man. (41)

As a specimen of Hebrew-historiography we may refer to I. Kings vii. 1, 13, "and King Solomon sent and fetched Hiram out of Tyre." The object of sending for him was to work in brass, and to cast pillars for the temple; and it is surprising that this should be recorded *after* the completion of the temple and all connected with it, had been several times repeated in the *previous* chapter. In I. Kings vi. 9—14, 37—38, the year and the month in which it was completed were actually named.

After the temple was thus declared to have been finished we have a further account of the building of the royal palace, which occupied no less than thirteen years. Yet after the

statement that the temple was finished in seven years in the eighth month, and that the palace of Solomon was finished in thirteen years more, the historian in perfect consistency with the Semitic style of narration, goes back again to the very beginning, and repeats that Solomon *sent* for Hiram, and that Hiram *made* certain works, and *cast* the pillars.

Were we to take these *praeter. hist. c. vanu consec.* as intimating the sequence of time in the recorded events, we should be driven to the conclusion that Solomon sent for Hiram from Tyre to help in building the temple just thirteen years after the temple was finished. In other words, Hiram comes to cast pillars and lavers many years after the pillars and lavers had been declared completed. Yet here we have, in genuine Semitic style, the simple idea:—"And Hiram, whom Solomon had fetched from Tyre, made the vessels of the temple." (42) In Judges ii. 6, we have another instance which proves that only ignorance or malice could start the objection against Gen. ii. 7—19. After Joshua is dead and buried for about twenty-five years, we read that "when Joshua had let the people go, the children of Israel went every man unto his inheritance to possess the land." See also Jer. xxxix. and lii.

5. The third objection is, that in Gen. i. 20, "all fowls that fly" are made out of the *waters*, and in Gen. ii. 19, "the fowls of the air" are made out of the *ground*. "*No single author,*" we are told, "*could have been guilty of such absurdities.*" To this, we reply, with all literary courtesy, that it seems hard to conceive how any scholar or divine could be guilty of repeating the above objection; when the most ordinary acumen of criticism, or the smallest trouble with a Hebrew lexicon and grammar, might have saved his reputation. There seems to be a strange delight with some critics in pouncing upon what they consider "the nakedness of the land," in the Bible. But here as everywhere truth revenges itself.

The simple matter-of-fact translation of Gen. i. 20, which is by no means obscure or uncertain, and which therefore leaves no room for other views, is this:—"Then spake Elohim, move shall the waters with movers, with living beings, and birds shall fly over the earth's face, the firmament." To reject the solution of a seeming dissonance which offers itself so unasked, almost unsought, we should say, is to sin against reason and every principle of fair criticism. (43) Not only is there no intimation of the element out of which the fowls are created, but there is no hint even given as to the water-animals being created out of water. (44)

Altogether superfluous therefore is the solution that the term earth, or ground, implied the water, although this would be perfectly true. (45) Nor is there any occasion to have recourse to the difference between the words *created*, Gen. i. 21, and *formed*, Gen. ii. 19. It is such catching after mere straws which emboldens the adverse critics of the Bible.

6. The fourth objection is, that in Gen. i. 27, man is said to be created after the image of God, whilst in Gen. ii. 7, out of the dust of the ground. We reply, had it been stated in Gen. i. 2—7, that God did *not* make man out of the dust of the ground, but out of some other substance, and had it been stated in Gen. ii. 7 that God did *not* make man in his own image, but in the "likeness of anything either in heaven or earth," the objection might have claimed grave consideration. But Gen. ii. 7, neither affirms nor denies that man was made in the image of God; and Gen. i. 27, neither affirms nor refutes that man was created out of the dust of the ground; thus leaving no room for either argument or objection.

7. The *fifth* objection is, that in Gen. i. 28, man is made the Lord of the whole earth, and in ii. 8—15, he is *merely* placed in the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it.

It is a wilful pertinacity to make the Bible speak differently from what it does. Where is the "absurdity" in man's being placed somewhere on earth to carry out, or at least, to commence carrying out his heaven-appointed lordship over that earth? Was Adam to commence his rule in the moon, rather than in an earthly Paradise? When after the flood the same power is re-delegated to man, we find that Noah, like Adam, was both a husbandman, and the exalted monarch of the universe.

Eden was the starting point from which the subjugation should be accomplished which should convert the whole earth into a Paradise. As the rivers of waters went forth in their mystical significance to water the earth, so was the dominion of the lord of nature to spread its blessed influence from Paradise throughout all the earth. But when the garden was neither kept nor dressed, as in the case with modern Biblical criticism, weeds and tares grew and multiplied, and man lost his sovereign power.

8. The *sixth* and last objection is, that in Gen. i. 27, man and woman are "created together" or at the same time, whilst in Gen. ii. 7, 8—15—22, it is stated that the beast and birds were created in the interval, or between the creation of man and woman. But the blame here rests upon those who interpolate the words "created together," which are not in the text. The non-sequence of events in consecutive order in this, as in other biblical narrations has been already disposed of, and we need only repeat that sequence of thought and idea must not be confounded with sequence of event.

9. The above was deemed amply sufficient in the first Edition to maintain the unity of the first three chapters in Genesis. Since, however, the composite character of these chapters has been again asserted, a more minute examination of the subject becomes unavoidable in a work which specially treats upon the subject.

The assertion that chap. i. and ii. proceed from two different authors, may seem a convenient mode of explaining the alleged contradictions in what are considered two different cosmogonies; but few even of the less reckless critics appear to realize the consequences to which they are driven by this admission. Can it be possible, we ask, with Hoelemann, (45b) that the first beginnings of the oracles of God, which have afforded light to the Church in all ages, and which constitute the foundation of our confidence in life and our hope in death, should prove so rotten as to give way at the first touch? Happily, the divines who suspect contradictions, or assume a duality of writers in these chapters are few in number, and these few are now generally admitted to have become devoid of authority. But if in England the day were to come when the so-called "traditionary" theologians should for a time be in the minority, as was the case in Germany, even in that case we say, "let no man's heart fail because of them." It holds still good:—"Not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty not many noble." Are there problems, then let them be solved. Unsolved dissonances are not to be considered contradictions; and in this, the Roman Jurist *Seat. Cæcilius* might read our modern critics a lesson, when, in speaking of the Twelve Tables, in reply to the objections of the philosopher Favorinus, he says, "*Obscuritates non assignemus culpæ scribentium, sed inscitie non assequentium.*" Gell. N.A. xx. i.

The history of modern Theology fully attests the truth of this assertion of Cæcilius: for an enlightened and unprejudiced exegesis has thrown light upon many subjects which seemed to be involved in hopeless obscurity. Or is the new School of Biblical Criticism prepared to say that it would have been well some forty years ago, to have discarded the Bible according to the mighty promptings of a triumphant Rationalism?

10. The supposed two accounts of the Creation has been fitly termed the *crux interpretum*. So much is clear, the original unity of the entire Pentateuch must stand or fall by the relation to each other of the first two chapters of Genesis. The battle must therefore be fought here; and as the Unity is subjected to repeated attacks, renewed defences must not be deemed superfluous or tedious.

If it be true that there are two Cosmogonies, the first of which essentially differs from the latter, and if there be a marked diversity of style between them, then the opposition will not escape receiving damage to their cause, since the apparent dissonance of the second account would involve contradictions with itself. In other words, the "Jehovistic" account would be the work of an author, altogether unlike the one, to whom later portions are ascribed by this same criticism.

Again if there be two accounts from two authors, is it not felt blasphemous to charge the Redactor or the *Diaskewast* of Genesis with the imprudence, incompetence and dulness of having set forth a work which is at variance with itself, and to make such a work the head corner-stone of the whole system of Revelation?

If there be any *desideratum*, it surely is this, that the scope of Revelation and the scheme of Redemption be based upon writings which even to their minutest parts should harmonise with themselves. The two chapters in question can form an integral portion of the documents of Revelation only on this condition, that they are at unity with themselves and with each other. If the cosmogony be indeed the foundation upon which the Church of both Testaments be built, that foundation cannot be either defective or of a composite character; for the whole Scripture canon, in such a case, would naturally share the rottenness, which in the opinion of the adverse critics infects the first two chapters of Genesis.

11. As regards the assumed diversity of style and composition, we protest in the name of Logic, against every critical analysis, which has for its object the dislocation of any book or portion of a book, as not being originally part of the compact organism of the entire Pentateuch: for no man has any right, or indeed is he qualified to make any such analysis, *except he extend it equally over the whole book in question*. Were there however any grave doubts advanced in any one specimen of critical analysis, this would be the place to examine them; but it must be confessed that every link in the analytical chain has been abandoned by a school which in Germany is now lying *in extremis*; and it would be easy to show that any chapter of critical works, adverse to the unity of the Pentateuch, contains stronger evidence of a duality of authorship than the first two chapters of Genesis.

But whatever be the character of certain criticisms, whether composite or otherwise, it will be measured to them again, as they have measured to others. The whole movement emanated from a real anatomist, Astruc, and its entire character is in perfect accordance with that principle of dissection which kills the bird, and dissects its delicate frame in order to examine what gave lustre to its eyes, music to its voice, and power to its wings. So the Biblical anatomists failing to solve these problems, begin to doubt whether the poor bird ever lived, sang or flew; or else they construct for it a very different existence from what it actually had.

12. The first question is whether there be any dissonance between chap. i. and ii., and whether the seeming diversity precludes their perfect harmony. Both cases will require to be decided one way or another, but instead of repeating the substance of the first two chapters, we refer the reader to the majestic simplicity of the accounts. Suffice it to say that after the Creation-Sabbath, there ensues a great pause in

the wonder-work of the cosmogony, and diversity of representation is sure to follow in the recapitulation of such a wondrous theme, if the same objects are looked upon from a different stand-point, or with a different object in view. Let us see how the second chapter bears upon the first; whether it be supplemental and dependent, or whether both chapters are isolated and independent of each other, and therefore the work of two authors.

If Gen. ii. 4—25, were independent of Gen. i. 1, ii. 3, and if therefore a strictly different cosmogony be given, then the second cosmogony has a most incomprehensible introduction, and this dark introduction would be followed by a convolution of incongruencies and inconsistencies. Man *e.g.* is, on his creation, placed in an empty wilderness, an earth not indeed without form, but an earth void and damp. Gen. ii. 6. Then again, only after man is created does God provide a Paradise and supply the necessary food. First, man is made, placed in a damp world without food, and only subsequently put into a congenial and pleasant abode.

Then again, it would appear that man was expelled from Paradise without sin, for he is a second time placed in the garden, and this second translation is more fully described than the first. After this, we are informed that he is to dress and to keep the garden, but the foes against which he is to secure his possessions, in reality as yet nowhere exist; the creation of the animals which alone could be the foes, took place later, and is said to have taken place between the first purpose of God to create a help meet for man and the execution of it. The creation at least of the *flora* and *fauna* would fall before the creation of Eve.

This is surely enough to show that were this supposed second cosmogony to stand alone, it would be inconsistent with itself; and to assert that the contradictions of both

cosmogonies, as they are wrongly termed, could be explained by assuming *two authors*, is simply to cut the Gordian knot, without solving one of the difficulties which necessarily arise in the second account, to the utter confusion of the adverse critics.

13. It comes therefore to this, either Gen. ii. 4—25, is a confused production, unworthy of the writer, termed the Jehovist, or it must be admitted that it is neither meant as a repetition of the former cosmogony, nor as an independent account of the creation. The *point de vue* from which to understand Gen. ii. 4—25, is only given in Gen. i. 1, ii. 4. Such a stand-point is needed in all matters. As soon as we take for granted that the writer of the first, is the writer of the second, we have the key to all the difficulties and seeming contradictions to which we have just alluded. Hence chap. ii. must have a different principle of relation from that of chap. i., which gives a succinct, chronologically exact account; and if we force this principle of order in point of time upon the second account, we should produce a mere chaos of conflicting ideas. In other words, Gen. i. alone can afford the key to Gen. ii. and the latter becomes clear and consistent only when considered as forming part of the former. As soon as we assume that both are written by the same hand, incongruity will give place to harmony and depth of meaning.

14. There is a sequence of time and a sequence of idea. In the first chapter we have both in exact chronological order from the first day of the creative week to the last. In the second chapter we have no more *works and days*, but *works only*, and only the most indistinct allusion to time in verse 4. In the first chapter we have an *analytical* account of events in a strict chronological sequence, and in the second chapter, we have a *synthetical* account from a given central point of view. In chap. i. we follow the Creator from "*the beginning*" step by step till, "*He rested* from all his works which God

had created and made." In chap. ii. the central point is man: we are told how, and from what he is made, whence he comes, where he is placed, what he does, what he receives, and what is denied him. The hexameron in the first chapter was crowned by the creation of man, and chap. ii. 4, begins with the creation of man and ends with the creation of the woman. Whatever else is named, is named only in its connection with him. One thing and another is brought out and described as bearing upon this central figure of man, no matter whether created before or after him. Man has however this central position only by the connection of chapter ii. with chapter i. As soon as man appears as the *microcosmus*, *homo totius universi epitome*, all that seemed confused and abrupt, becomes harmony, system and connection, not only with the first account, but with the whole book of Genesis.

15. If in contradiction to our view in the first Edition, we were with Hoelemann to consider the first part of verse 4 in chap. ii. as the conclusion of the first account, instead of the prologue to the second, taking it in the sense:—"Thus were the heavens and the earth created,"—then the second account would open with Gen. ii. 4;—"In the day when Jehovah-Elohim made earth and heaven, there was as yet no plant in the earth, and no herb grew in the field." Or it is possible,—since there is great obscurity in this passage,—it might be translated after the old versions of the LXX and the vulgate, which are followed by the authorised version:—"In the day when the LORD made earth and heaven, and every plant of the field before, *antequam*, *priusquam*, it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew." But take it as we may, the fact of the *earth* being now put before heaven, contrary to the ordinary, "The heavens and the earth," clearly shows that the *earth* is henceforth to be the future scene of action, and *man* above all else on the earth, is to be

the centre of the *pericope* in chap. ii. This will at once appear from what follows, "there was no rain and no man to till the ground."

But if we are to take this in the sense, that there was not only no *culture* of the field, but absolutely no vegetation as yet, and no rain, and no man, we naturally ask to what *stadium* of the cosmogony this refers. The second chapter gives no clue to this whatever, and we are compelled to refer to chap. i. which furnishes the exact chronological account. If then chap. ii. is thus *unintelligible* without chap. i., it is very certain that they belong both together, and that they claim to proceed from one and the same author.

16. If then chap. i. alone can throw light upon the darkness of chap. ii., we may fairly ask again at what stage begins the supposed second cosmogony? Taking the beginning of chap. ii. 4, as the inscription, we read:—"In the day which Jehovah-Elohim *made*, not created, earth and heaven," and this shows us that this supposed second account begins on the second day of the hexameron. God separated (i. 6—8) the waters below and above the firmament. "God *made* the firmament and *divided* the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament, and it was so. And God called the firmament heaven." In chap. ii. 5, we have reference to this *making* not of "the heavens and the earth," which signified the universe, but we have it without article, and in the reverse order, "*earth and heavens*" clearly showing that both were *separated*, or *made*, not created, as both i. 6—8 and ii. 5 have it.

If there had been any intention to bring about any artificial uniformity in what are assumed two cosmogonies, it might have been said in Gen. ii. 4—6:—"In the day that the LORD *divided* earth and heaven;" instead of "In the day that the LORD *made* earth and heaven." The words themselves

clearly point back to the end of the second day, when earth and heaven were divided, and when therefore, in a very peculiar sense (see the original) "*made were earth and heaven.*" This period lasted to the beginning of the third day when the waters were separated and vegetation appeared, i. 11—13, which according to ii. 5, was "*not yet*" on "*the day that the LORD God made earth and heaven.*" This definition of time, which is the only one in chap. ii. is therefore only made clear and certain by its connection with chap. ii. 6—8.

But chap. i. is further taken for granted in ii. 5, since the alleged absence of rain, and of man does not sufficiently account for the absence of vegetation: for culture, and rain can only sustain, but not produce vegetation. The previous creation of vegetation, and its having been recorded in chap. i. is therefore also here taken for granted.

17. But the second chapter passes over the creation of vegetation and animal life, simply because it was given before; and it hastens to the detailed account of the creation of man. This diversity arises from the diverse principles of the two chapters. Indeed had there been no such diversity of scope or principle, there would have been no need of chap. ii., which is only intelligible on the assumption that the author of chap. ii. had written chap. i. In chap. i. it was *time*, in chap. ii. it is *man* which absorbs the attention. By simply naming the non-existence of man, verse 5, and the existence of the watered face of the ground—the author reached his great point: "The LORD GOD formed man out of the dust of the ground."

Whilst chap. i. says generally, "Let us make man" and "God created man," we have in chap. ii. the further information out of what elements God created man. The inbreathing of the breath of life is the counterpart of the exbreathing of the soul, and since the former is the act of

God, we have in it a strong allusion to the image of God, in whose image according to Gen. i. man was created.

When the garden is described in ii. 8, as being planted after man's creation, it does not follow that it did not exist before. Chap. ii. on the appearance of the newly-created man, supplies his wants from means already in existence. The charge therefore that the cradle was constructed only after the appearance of man, does not hold good. Hoelemann says on this subject, "*Einheit der beiden Schöpfungsberichte* page 23 :—'*Die Heb. Sprache, welche das Plusquamperfectum nicht, oder richtiger keine äussere Unterscheidung dafür hat, pflegt dasselbe durch das Perfect zu ersetzen, welches übrigens auch in der Uebersetzung allenthalben wohl beibehalten, bez. durch Imperf. wiedergegeben werden kann, wie eben verse 8 'welchen er gemacht hatte.' Nun handelt es sich aber bei uns nicht um abgethane Handlungen, sondern um lebendig allmähliche Einführung des um den neu geschaffenen Menschen her allerdings real schon Vorhandenen, der Umstände im eigentlichen Sinne, was indess so nur im Hebr. Aorist, (Imperfectum mit *van conversivum*) geschehen konnte.*'"

18. The command to *keep* the garden ii. 15, before the animals were created in verse 19 implies that they actually existed according to i. 25, where the account of their creation is given. Again, the command ii. 16, to eat freely of every tree, is the same as in i. 29, yet the restriction is reserved for chap. ii. where the tree of knowledge becomes the tree of death. Then again, the *personal* help which Adam receives in the woman, implies that before receiving it, he had other help. Man was not alone, but *lonely*, the only man. From the fact that only cattle, birds, and game were brought to Adam, with the omission of the *aquaria* and creeping things, it was to be gathered that even those creatures which stood nearest to man, could not remove the sense of desolation.

The animals were a *help* to man, being subjected to Adam,

i. 28, but the help was inadequate. The contrast, then, of the new help, recorded in chap. ii., with that help which man already possessed, is a most surprising instance of how both chapters strengthen and confirm each other. It affords a strong proof that nothing is more remote from the author's intention than to give a fresh account of the creation of the animals. They are named for a purpose, and therefore the reptiles and *aquaria* are omitted to show that the latter were not subsidiary to that purpose. Since then chap. ii. has these omissions, we see that it deals exclusively with *man*, in Paradise, passing over, what is already recorded in chap. i.

19. From the foregoing it will appear that chap. ii. was not loosely attached to chap. i.; also that in the second, we have no idle repetition or variation of the first chapter by another hand, but an organic and harmonious continuation of the one in the other, from a *fresh point* of view. This harmony of the chapters appears in their very diversity, the one having to do with the *macrocosmus* of the universe, the other with the *microcosmus* of man. In chap. i. we have the special decree of Elohim to create *man*; and in chap. ii. we have the special decree of Jehovah-Elohim to create woman, thus supplementing each other, without furnishing a duplicate.

Again, in both chapters all the fruits are given to man, only in the second a trivial exception paves the way to the most momentous consequences. Again, in chap. ii. the *living* creatures receive their names from man, whilst in chap. i. God Himself gives names to the *lifeless* objects. "And whatsoever Adam called every *living* creature, that was the name thereof." ii. 19. Besides these and similar points of agreement by which both chapters supplement and illustrate each other, almost *every verse of chap. ii. supplies something new*, which may have been indicated in chap. i., but which was not expressly stated.

Thus *e.g.* chap. ii. repeats that Elohim is the Creator, but it

adds that Elohim is none other than Jehovah. Then we again found, that when God *divided* the water from the earth, there was a continuous mist rising up from the earth thus "*made*," i. 6—10; and ii. 4—6; and that when God made man in His own image, He breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; i. 27 and ii. 7. Again chap. ii. tells us of Paradise, its trees, its locality, its rivers, ii. 8—14. We are also informed of the calling of man in the garden, verse 15. Of which tree he was not to eat, v. 16. Also that man existed first, as one individual, verse 18; that there was no help found among the animals which stood even nearest to him, verse 19; that God prepared the desired help, verse 21, 22; that man recognised it with joy, verse 23. And also that deep and wide-reaching consequences were established by this relation between man and wife for all ages, verse 24. All these features are quite new, and of the deepest significance; but though they are new, we feel as if we had read them before, and as already knew them from chap. i.; or at least, that chap. i. left a gap to be filled up by a further account. One account is clearly parallel to the other; and even assuming that chap. i. could be understood in a general way without chap. ii., yet chap. ii. without chap. i. remains a dark mystery. But also chap. i. without ii. would be fragmentary, cold, and dry without the warm and living element in chap. ii.

20. We will now enter more fully into details. The different type which prevails in chap. i. and chap. ii. finds expression in the style of narrative. In chap. ii. we have no beginning at the beginning, but it dives at once into the second day of the cosmogony. In chap. i. we have a clear beginning and a full end in man, the crown of God's works. Chap. ii. being true to its scope and object goes from man to man; it begins with man and ends with the woman. It groups effectively, whatever it has to record, around this central figure of man.

A scope and subject so diverse must find utterance in the very style of the accounts. And this is really the case. In chap. ii. we have therefore the type of the supplementary, the dependent rather than the independent, the auxiliary rather than the tone-giving element. We have not the laying of the foundation, but the building upon foundations already laid in chap. i. There is not the exact *method* of chap. i., but it has a method of its own, which it is found to follow to the end. It is this peculiarity, this singular Hebrew *parallelismus membrorum*, which in chap. i. and ii. was mistaken for a duality of authorship. Both accounts are master-pieces of inspiration, so to speak, from a different point of view. Yet this will not surely justify the assumption of two distinct masters. Yet, with a diversity of expression, there is a mutual harmony of style, such as we should expect if both came from the same author. In both accounts we have not only the same term for man, for beast, and for vegetables, but in both we have the expression "living soul." i. 20, 21—24, ii. 7—19. The characteristic distinction of "beast of the earth," and "the cattle" in i. 24, 25, and of the "cattle" and the "beasts of the field" in ii. 20; the exchange of "*beasts of the earth*" and "*beasts of the field*" being due to the different stand-points of the two accounts. Again the absence of the creeping things in chap. ii. was perfectly consistent and intentional. There are other *syntactical* peculiarities which grammarians discover alike in both these accounts. See Hoelemann's "*Einheit der beiden Schöpfungsberichte*," p. 43, 44. If it be objected that the Jehovist in chap. ii. would naturally imitate the Elohist author in chap. i., then we request our opponents to cease from enlarging upon differences and contradictions, which they say are contained in chap. ii.

But we must also be prepared to find *lexicographical* peculiarities in both accounts, where new or special ideas are to be

expressed. We recall the occurrence of "*earth and heaven*," in ii. 4, without the article, in contradiction to "*the heavens and the earth*," in chap. i. Then in verses 5, 6, 7, 19, 22, we have fresh terms which were naturally brought in to describe fresh objects and processes.

21. If we sum up the characteristics of chap. i. and ii., and their formal and material peculiarities, we recognise in the latter the reverse, so to speak, of the solitary medal, recording in a few mysterious strokes, the history of the creation. We have, as aforesaid, the supplemental, excursive, episodical element. Everywhere new things are seen placed upon an old foundation; diversity with harmony, sequence of time in the one, and association and co-ordination of ideas in the other. The whole structure of both together is in harmony with the entire Genesis. In Genesis we have to start, in "*the beginning*" as it were from a vast ocean; we then approach a continent, then enter a bay, and ascend a stream till we cast anchor on the shores of the land of promise. The general history of the world gradually recedes from before us to press the chosen race upon our attention. *What we see in the first two chapters,—where there is a progress from the general and universal to the special and particular; from the immense Universe to the circumscribed Paradise,—is characteristic of the entire book of Genesis; and this shows that these two accounts not only belong together, but that both together form the necessary substructure of the entire edifice. The plan sketched out, seems as follows. First comes the creation of the universe, then the replenishing of the earth with life; first the creation of man, then the creation of the woman, who is in chap. i. not only the "female," but in chap. ii. more significantly the "help meet for him;" then the horizon of the universe contracts into that of the garden of Eden. Lastly, all the various lines concentrate in man as the crown of created beings. The second chapter opens with the time*

when there was "no man;" and man forthwith becomes the absorbing topic. As chap. i. gives an account of the creation of the Universe, inclusive of man, so chap. ii. gives the history of the creation of man inclusive of the world.

When such unity and harmony exist amidst all possible diversity, what remains to be desired? Instead of seeking to untwine the double-threaded cosmogony, if we choose to call it so, which gives it everlasting strength and consistency, let us bless God for it. Instead of admitting that the differences are such as to compel us to surrender the outer shell of details, and to cling to the substance, let Theology fasten upon the *details* in order to meet general and *vague* assertions.

22. Details, such as the command in chap. ii. not to eat of the tree of knowledge; the naming of the original innocence which fled at the approach of sin, seem just to open up the beginning of the history of Redemption; and it is only by the connection of chap. ii. with chap. i. that the latter becomes the foundation of Genesis, of the entire Torah, and even of the Gospel.

What can be more significant than the detailed occurrence of the names of God? Chap. ii. retains the name of Elohim from chap. i., but Elohim stands no longer alone to signify that now a new economy was preparing. It tells that Elohim is none other than Jehovah, the God of Redemption, the covenant name of the Creator. First we have the creation of the universe, but in chap. ii. with the name of Jehovah, "the kindness and love of God our Saviour toward man appeared." It is this Jehovah-Elohim which has proved such a cross to the agglutination-hypothesis of the Higher Criticism, because it impresses the imperishable seal of a perfect seamless unity upon the two chapters.

But it is the highest proof and power of truth, her strong corrective and her great blessing, that the most powerful obstacles are placed in the way of those that are in error to

compel them either to return from the error of their way, or to cause them "to stumble and fall, and be broken and be snared and be taken." In this most exact analogy of chap. ii. with chap. i. the Higher Criticism has ever found its most powerful weapons, and it is here therefore that we must defeat its arguments.

It is prohibited in Lev. xix. 19, and Deut. xxii. 9:—"Thou shalt not let thy cattle gender with a diverse kind; thou shalt not sow thy field with mingled seed; neither shall a garment mingled of linen and woollen come upon thee." Yet the book which orders these things is to be a patchwork, patch upon patch; patched together by an Elohist and younger Elohist; by a Jehovist and *Redactor* and what not! The Holy Ghost however wrought a garment without a seam; and it is here true:—"Simplex veri sigillum." Every theory which confounds appearances with realities, mocks its advocates, and with a vengeance leads them *ad absurdum*. It is hence no matter of surprise that amongst all the numerous recent publications of German critics there is not one that condescends to notice the literary dream of the so-called Jehovah-and-Elohim-theory, except by way of reprobation.

23. The main fortress of this groundless agglutination-theory has ever been within the two first chapters of Genesis, the unity of which, we trust, is at length lastingly re-established. We have seen that between both accounts there is no contradiction, that both in fact, supplement and support each other. Acknowledge the guiding principle of each, and all is harmony. If chapter ii. be not viewed from its only legitimate stand-point, it will present, not only dissonance with chap. i., but it will contradict itself. Viewed in connection with chap. i. as it should be viewed, we find that chap. ii. gives new light in every verse.

Chap. ii. without chap. i. is an unintelligible aggregate of confused ideas; indeed the one without the other was proved

to be impossible. Chap. ii. acquires this well-ordered and systematic form by the two following omissions. In the first place we must not expect any of that strongly-marked chronological order, which pervades chap. i. We must secondly take it for granted that this account does not present itself as a cosmogony at all. There is no creative power at work. It records what took place on certain stages of the hexameron from a particular point of view, which stand-point is by no means arbitrary or imaginary.

Altogether different becomes the thread of the narrative from chap. iii. There is no longer a supplementary character in which sequence of idea is made to yield to sequence of time; but we have a continuation of the narrative without the possibility of a recurrence of the confusion which must ensue were we to take chap. ii. as a separate account.

If therefore chap. ii. be in all respects proved to have been conceived and executed with special reference to chap. i., then the former is no dependent document, much less some stray fragment snatched up by the author of Genesis. There would be no positive difficulty in assuming that Moses had found chap. i. already written and adopted it under the guidance of the Holy Ghost. But this is rendered highly improbable, if not impossible, from the fact that chap. i. is clearly written with a view to what should follow in chap. ii. Chap. i. alone, would not have sufficed to afford the required pyramidal foundation for the entire book, since it did not exhaust the subject in accordance with the entire scope of the work.

24. It has been the fashion for the opponents of the unity of the two chapters, to strike out the so-called Jehovistic portion. Gen. ii. 4, iv. 26. But the cosmopolitan account in chap. i., (and we now take the view of the opponents) as immediately joining chap. v. could at no period of the Old Testament be received as canonical by a devout Israelite. The beginning

of chap. v. indeed is evidently based upon chap. ii., and no less upon chap. iii. and iv., without it chap. v. 29, is unintelligible, and must be regarded as a Jehovistic insertion. In like manner, Adam is always used *nomen proprium* in chap. v., whilst in chap. iii. it is a generic term, not the name of an individual. This change was gradually introduced from chap. ii.—iv. Hence *Knobel* does not hesitate to explain chap. v. 2, by iii. 17. Again, without the intervening portion, the recapitulation from chap. i. in v. 1, 2, would be entirely superfluous. Only on assuming that chap. ii. and iii. form part of the *Grundschrift*, does the fact become intelligible that Adam who was made in the *image of God* begets a son “in *his own likeness* after his image;” and could not beget a son in the image and the likeness of God. See 1 Cor. xv. 49.

It is in the organism of Genesis, as in the organism of any other living body. The amputation of a limb may not involve death, but it certainly maims the body and renders it unfit for service. So with the Pentateuch. We have then, surely, a right to ask the advocates of this agglutination-hypothesis, where in all the world, there is a single trace of the existence of only one such fragment, as assumed by these *Astrucian* anatomists of the Holy Scriptures? Is there, moreover, anywhere in the Hebrew Scripture canon any analogous case of a composite book, such as these two chapters are supposed to be? We have in Kings and Chronicles different accounts of the same events, as also in the Gospels. Let these critics expound, why,—if this patchwork was initiated so early as Genesis i. and ii.,—we have no attempt to work up these accounts into one book, and why they were both allowed to stand side by side.

25. There is one more evidence to prove that even chap. i. would be incomplete without chap. ii. As in ordinary writings, so also, we have in the Bible more references to what is written than to what is yet to be written. We have

more retrospective glances of chap. ii. to chap. i., than we have prospective glances in the latter to the former. Yet these prospective references are not altogether lacking. We have before this noticed that chap. i. leaves some vital questions unanswered, and that simply because chap. ii. was to follow. But there is one more point which attests this *harmonia præstabilita* of the first two chapters.

What could be more destitute of force or meaning, than the *sevenfold* repetition in chap. ii., "*God saw it was good,*" and the final, "*God saw everything that He had made, and behold it was very good;*"⁴ thereby the *evil* of sin which follows in chap. iii., were not anticipated; but this third chapter is only a continuation of chap. ii. If then this be admitted, it cannot be denied that both chapters belong together; since a successor is not likely to have given the right meaning and force to the expressions of a predecessor.

We have then no two accounts of the creation. There is no dualism of authorship. Both chapters belong together. We have in both the stereoscopic production, where both eyes gaze through two *media*, and the two pictures are joined in one, and *that* one figure standing out in bold relief. "*Mixta duorum Corpora junguntur, faciesque inducitur illis una velut si quis conducta cortice ramos crescendo jungi pariterqueadolescere cernat.*" *Ov. Met. IV. 373 segg.*

In like manner the two so-called cosmogonies. Each is incomplete by itself. If viewed separately each presents incongruity and dissonance. If both be taken together, brought under the one right focus, and if both be considered, the one for the other, they form a perfect harmonious whole.

The perfect unity by which both stand or fall together, is even attested by the arithmetical skeleton of both accounts, as regards the number of verses in each, and the general structure of both chapters. See *Hoelemann* p. 58, and

Kliefoth Theol. Zeitschrift 1862, p. 24; whence it appears that both were written by the same hand. If then both accounts by their form and substance constitute one whole; if this whole be clearly divided into two parts; if the diversities and analogies of both are seen to clasp together by well defined bonds of union, the unity is established, and the greatest bulwark of the opposition is demolished. Of both accounts it may once more be said as of Adam and Eve, that "they are no more twain but one flesh," and "what God has joined together, let no man put asunder."

§ 6. SEPARABILITY OF GENESIS IV. TO XI. 27.

The substance of chap. iv. is so welded together with what precedes and follows that none can pretend that it is not all of one cast, or that we have to deal with detached fragments of an unknown past. Chapter iii. deals with the parents and iv. with their offspring. One son is taken away, another given. The chapter is also at unity with itself, and in perfect harmony with a deep-laid principle; it clears the way to the *Tholedoth* of Adam which was to reach down to the coming of Christ.

In this genealogy of Adam which opens in chap. v. we have ten members. Of each of these, the age of paternity is given, then the duration of life after that event, then the whole sum of days is given together with the death.

An exception is made with the last member, Noah; we are not told how long he lived after the birth of his son, and instead of there being only one son named as heretofore, we have three. As the usual information is thus withheld, the genealogical notice is incomplete. It professes to be incomplete and we are thereby encouraged to look for the outstanding *data*.

After a wonderfully exact chronological account of the

flood we have the double information of Noah's life after the flood and the sum total of his days, Gen. ix. 29. The history of the flood is thus closed in, as it were, between the genealogy of Noah.

Again, the allusion to the creation of man in God's own likeness chap. v. 1 to 2, clearly refers i. 27, 28. The announcement that Adam begat a son in his own likeness v. 3, reflects at once upon the fall recorded in chap. iii. whilst the repetition of the fearful, "*and he died*" recalls the sentence of death passed upon the fallen. The same is true of verse 29:—"This same shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed." All this proves that this *Tholedoth* of Adam in chap. v. could not have immediately followed the section which ends chap. ii. 3. Much less could chap. v. have been written by any other than the writer of the intermediate portion.

As little is it possible to conceive that the account of the Flood in Gen. vi. 9, would follow the end of chap. v. since a great gap in the narrative would be felt; the very mention of the great corruption of the earth vi. 11—13, demands the account of the origin of this corruption. See vi. 1—8. Yet this most essential portion is said not to belong to the groundwork of Genesis!

Again, if the record of the flood chap. vi. 9, to ix. 29, so decidedly favour the theory of two or more authors in Genesis, as is asserted, whence the great difference among critics, as to the assignment of the respective parts? (46) Whence again the fact that most of the adverse critics regard the Elohistic parts as complete in themselves; the Jehovist in their view furnishing a few parallels, whilst Hupfeld, the most earnest among them, considers the Jehovist as also giving a full account of the cause, the actual occurrence and the consequences of the flood?

Neither the Jehovistic nor the Elohistic record of the flood,

taken separately, gives sense and connection. According to the former, nothing is said of the building of the ark, nor the time of the flood, except that it came after seven days! vii. 5—10. The rains lasted forty days, verses 12—17. A wind came and the ark settled on the mountain, viii. 1b 2b 3a 4a. Noah sent out a raven and a dove, 6—12. Lastly without naming the exit of Noah, he builds the altar and offers sacrifice!

The Elohist account would be equally incomplete; it mentions no time when the flood should appear, which is indispensable, as Kurtz has shown in his "*Einheit der Genesis*," p. 50. Again, by the omission of the sacrifice an *hiatus* is produced, since the covenant in chap. ix. takes the sacrifice for granted; or to use the words of Delitzsch, the blessing would otherwise have been given without a fitting occasion. Lastly the account, viii. 21, that Jehovah "said in his heart," is not a revelation to Noah; on the contrary we expect such, as follows in chap. ix. Yet this selection of words, out of four or more verses, just as they may chance to suit some preconceived theory, is considered worthy of what is termed, the Higher Criticism!

Gen. x. is a direct continuation of the main line of genealogy, not, as was supposed, a Jehovistic parallel to the Elohist genealogy, xi. 10—26. Indeed the former is cosmographical and the latter genealogical; the former settles the nations, the latter defines the sacred line. If the table of nations in Gen. x. be not part of the groundwork of Genesis, why should that same groundwork Gen. v. 32, vi. 10, twice name all the three sons of Noah? Why, moreover, name Ham and Japheth in a book which is said only to refer to Shem? The Tholedoth of Adam closed with Noah's sons. Chap. x. gives the posterities of these sons, and that first of Japheth, then of Ham, then of Shem. Of the first line only the first member is given. Of two sons of Japheth, the

second is given. Of Ham's line we have, with the exception of one son, the second member, and of another the third; and the prophetic blessing which was given in chap. ix. 26—27, is detailed in chap. x. as being fulfilled.

Then, what a striking connection exists between chap. x. and xi. The table of nations in chap. x. hastens on to Arphaxad and gives thirteen sons of Joctan, one of the two sons of Eber; but where are the sons of his brother Peleg? His posterity could not be forgotten or overlooked since Shem was called (x. 21), "the father of *all* the children of Eber." The missing links are given xi. 16—25, to which we refer the reader.

Again, let any one look at chap. x. 25, 32, and ix. 19, where it is stated, "of them the whole earth was scattered or overspread;" and then read chap. xi. which gives the account as to how the divers tongues were formed and the nations scattered over the earth.

Lastly—to give only one more instance of this marvellous connection of chapter with chapter,—as we were prepared to hear more of Shem, Ham, and Japheth after they were once named, so the naming of the three sons of Terah as the *prima stamina* of the patriarchal history, prepares us for future details respecting them. Had the genealogy of Shem preceded the table of nations, the patriarchal history would have lost its starting point, and it was doubtless with a view of depriving the patriarchal history of this basis that modern criticism seeks to deprive us of chap. xi. 27—32.

§ 7. SEPARABILITY OF GEN. XI. 27 TO XXV. 10.

As the historian paused after naming Noah's three sons, v. 32, so he pauses after naming Abram, Nahor, and Haran, the three sons of Terah. Instead however, of giving Terah's entire age, and recording his death after the events in his

life-time, the author records Terah's death as taking place sixty years before it occurred; that is to say, it is related as if it had taken place before Abraham left his country.

The fact, that Terah lived 205 years, or sixty years after Abraham had left him, caused great trouble to Jerome, who calls it the "indissoluble question:" but it is one which was afterwards solved by St. Augustine. (47) All difficulty vanishes when we remember that Genesis is *genealogically* constructed, and not always analytically or chronologically. The writer here presses on to the twentieth member of the great line, upon which more depended than upon any other, before or after. Here the same principle is at work, by which all secondary genealogical lines are invariably cleared away, so as to remove all impediments for the carrying on of the main line.

We expect now to hear more of the three sons of Terah, especially of Abraham; according to the customary plan of the writer we shall expect to hear how old he was when his son was born, and what was the extent of his life. Yet in this history there may be something analogous to that of Noah. As with *that* father of nations the genealogical line widened in order to embrace the side branches, so it might be with this father of nations. It there widened because great deeds of Jehovah were to be recorded, and something analogous may here be expected.

Abraham is said to have been seventy-five years old when he left Haran; eighty-six when Ishmael was born, xvi. 16. And when he was a hundred years old, xxi. 1, he received his son Isaac. This, then, is the first chronological notice in harmony with those of the nineteen previous genealogical members of the great line. But the sum of his years is not yet given. After being informed that it was neither the sons of Keturah nor Ishmael, that should continue the line, we have in chap. xxv. 7, the notice still due of Abraham's entire life. Thus

we perceive all is harmony and unity. Whether we examine the genealogical chain or the historical events, chapter seems to be interwoven with chapter, and fact with fact. But it must not be supposed that the unity of the portion chap. xii. —xv. was left unimpeached, although the separation leads to the most preposterous results.

The groundwork of the history of Abraham,—who is the most celebrated character of the Hebrew and cognate nations,—is reduced to a skeleton. It simply relates that Abraham was seventy-five years old when he came to Canaan. Here he first received Ishmael; then a promise of Isaac, then Isaac himself. Thirty-seven years after the birth of Isaac he lost his wife, and after forty-seven years more he himself died, and was buried. Such is Abraham's life!

But this reduction by no means frees the hypothesis from the difficulties which press upon it like a nightmare. Hupfeld, indeed, professes to make some sense and connection of it, but does it by no less than three critical *coups de main*; by changing Jehovah xviii. 1, first into Elohim; transposing next xii. 4*b* after xiii. 5, and then placing xix. 29, after xiii. 12*b*. By such means any results may be obtained.

The Jehovistic portions make still less sense, comprising only the birth of Ishmael and Isaac and the death of Abraham, Sarah being altogether missing. See xvi. 15, xxi. 2—5, and xxxiii. Then if xii. 4*b* and 5, belong to the groundwork of the Elohist, the Jehovist has no where stated that Abraham left Haran; and between xii. 4*a* and 6, there remains a great gulf.

Much greater difficulties arise from the critical separation in chap. xx. and xxi. At once the opening of xx. 1, "And Abraham journeyed *from thence* towards the south-country," is the rock on which the theory must inevitably burst. Whether the critics ascribe this to the Elohist, as most of them do, or to the so-called younger Elohist, in either case

there is not the smallest clue to be found as to the abode of Abraham to which the verse refers. If the chapter be Elohist, the author has nowhere stated any locality from whence Abraham could possibly emigrate. Only the supposed Jehovistic portions tell us where Abraham was, chap. xii. and xviii. Yet such is the pertinacity of the upholders of this view that rather than abandon the theory, a "Jehovistic gloss" is assumed in chap. xx. 1, and the learned suggestion is thrown out by Dr. Hupfeld "that the beginning of the document had been cut off!" Nor is that all. Chap. xx. 18, and xxi. 7—33 are also similar "Jehovistic glosses," which this criticism does not find it possible to harmonise with pre-concerted theories; there is enough truly in such critical operation to bring contempt upon Theology. A real cross have proved the Jehovistic peculiarities of chap. xx., coupled with the name of Elohim; and the assumption of a third author blending the two elements, can scarcely avail in this difficulty, since it must be remembered that not only the words "from thence" in xx. 1, go back to xii. and xiii., but also the declaration of Abraham, "she is my sister," in xx. 2, only receives full explanation in chapter xii. 11—13. These two statements can therefore be part neither of the *Grund-schrift* nor of the addition of the younger Elohist.

The same is true of xxi. Here verses 1—8 are admitted to be closely connected with chapters xvii. and xviii. Again, as verses 2—5 record the fulfilment of xvii. so verses 1, 6—8 refer in the clearest manner to xviii. 10—15.

The portion of Gen. xxi. 9—34, is a further trouble to the critics. It is said to partake of both the character of the Elohist and the Jehovist, and is put down, as the work of a younger Elohist. But this cannot be admitted, since verse 18, claims to be written by the same hand which wrote xvi. 10—11. Then verses 31—33, recording Abraham's sojourn at Beersheba has to do with xx. 1, and through this verse

with xiii. 18, and chap. xviii., all being Jehovistic sections, and from which xxi. can alone be explained. Again, the fact of Ishmael's dwelling in Paran xxi. 21, is said to be in contradiction with the groundwork when it speaks xxv. 8, of both him and Isaac as having been present at the burial of Abraham at Hebron; assuming that a journey from Paran to Hebron was an impossibility. Yet whilst writing this, I receive the news—in my ordinary correspondence with Mr. Skene, H.B.M.'s Consul at Aleppo—that the Bedouins, as genuine sons of Ishmael, have just commenced their *annual* migration southward to the Arabian Peninsula. Are we to be taught by men who betray such profound ignorance of even the ordinary habits of Arab life, what to think of the Pentateuch?

In chap. xxii., the critics are again in open conflict as to the disposal of the subject, hence the frivolous subterfuge—which has been adopted before on such occasions—of ascribing the record of this grand transaction to the imaginary younger Elohist. Then the Aramæic genealogy of Nahor in xxii. 20—24, is said to be Jehovistic, because the groundwork is thought to restrict itself to the sacred line; but why was Nahor named in xi. 37—30? This genealogy, which introduces Isaac's marriage with Rebekah directly confounds the criticism which endeavours to separate the history of that event in chap. xxiv. from the groundwork.

Gen. xxiv. by the test of *Aram Naharaim* is Jehovistic; but this Jehovistic portion is closely interwoven with the previous and subsequent portions of the Elohistic groundwork. Compare *e.g.*, xxiv. 24, with xxii. 20, xxiv. 62 with xxv. 11, and again xxiv. 7, with chap. xxiii. On the other hand, in xxiii. 4—6, a lengthened sojourn near Hebron is taken for granted, which the groundwork would ignore, if chapters xiii. 18, and xiv. and xviii. were interpolations.

Thus we discover in all directions the closest connection, such as is only possible when the work proceeds from one

the same author. Granted even that the references of chap. xxiv. to portions of the groundwork were intentional on the part of the Jehovistic supplementist, how then could we explain the references of the original Elohist to the latter Jehovistic narratives?

§ 8. SEPARABILITY OF GEN. XXV. TO GEN. XXXVI.

Against the assumption of Hupfeld that Gen. xxv. 1—6, is either an interpolation or a Jehovistic addition of later times, speaks the entire context. These verses are essential. They record the names of the sons and grandsons of Abraham by Keturah, thus furnishing the historical evidence for the fulfilment of the Elohist promise, Gen. xvii.:—"Thou shalt be a father of many nations." For this purpose the genealogy is here introduced by the same hand which wrote the former chapter. Again, the "good old age," verse 8, points back to the promise, Gen. xv. 5:—"Thou shalt be buried in a good old age." Yet chap. xv. is said to be Jehovistic, whilst xxv. is considered Elohist!

In the following genealogies of Ishmael, Isaac and Esau, from chap. xxv. 12 to xxxvi. 43, the *dissensus* of the critics increase more and more, and the groundwork becomes more and more of a skeleton. The Tholedoth of Ishmael, according to Hupfeld, stood thus in the groundwork:—"These are the generations of Ishmael, Abraham's son, whom Hagar, the Egyptian, Sarah's maid, bore unto Abraham (verse 12), twelve princes according to their nations (verse 16*b*; and they dwelt from Havila to Shur, &c., &c. (Verse 18.) "*Solchen Unsinn,*" exclaims Kiel, "*nennt man eine zusammenhängende Geschichtserzählung!*" And we add, if men capable of such criticism are not struck with blindness before the Bible, neither were the men of Sodom before Lot's house.

And why are verses 13—15 and 16*a* cut out? Because the acceptance of them would compel the critics to receive chap. x. as belonging to the groundwork; but the reception of this chapter would overthrow their hypothesis, and therefore could not be permitted. The whole of Genesis may be cut into shreds, but the wild prejudices of modern criticism must not be permitted to suffer.

In the Tholedoth of Isaac, these portions are stated only to belong to the groundwork: Gen. xxv. 19, 20, 21*b*, 6, 26*b*, 34, 35, xxvii. 46, xxviii. 1—9, xxxi. 17—18, xxxv. 9—15, 27—29. Thus the original Genesis knows nothing of the birth of Esau and Jacob, although it related that Rebekah conceived, and that Isaac was sixty years old “when she bare them,” xxv. 26*b*. Bare whom? *That* the original writer forgets to tell his readers. The same imaginary author who knew nothing of the birth of Esau, nevertheless in chap. xxvi. 24, names his wives! Again the unborn Jacob is said to travel into Mesopotamia to fetch a wife, xxvi. 46, xxviii. 9. But how Jacob got there and what happened to him when there, of all this, the *original* story said nothing beyond what is stated xxxi. 17, 18:—“Then Jacob rose up and set his sons and wives upon camels, and he carried away all his cattle and all his goods, which he had gotten; the cattle of his getting which he had gotten in Padan-Aram for to go to Isaac his father in the land of Canaan.” So mighty little had the “legend” to report of the hero from whom Israel derived their name and existence! The grounds for these criticisms are so conflicting that they destroy each other.

If chap. xxv. 21—34, be taken from the groundwork, then Esau in chap. xxvi. 34, and Jacob in chap. xxvii. 46, come before us most abruptly: nothing being intimated of their relation to each other, or of their respective relation to Isaac and Rebekah. We have indeed five reasons given why the account of the birth of the twin brothers, and the purchase of

the birth-right—items forming so essential a part—could not have formed a portion of the groundwork, (47) but these are simply dogmatical prejudices and gratuitous fancies, not critical proofs and evidences, as will be seen by any one who takes the trouble to refer to them in Hupfeld, page 63.

In Gen. xxvi. 1—30, it was forgotten by the critics that in cutting off this part from the groundwork they deprive the biography of Isaac of all that is characteristic. Nor is this all. After depriving him of the divine promise, the Elohist most inconsistently permits Isaac to confer this patriarchal blessing on Jacob, which implies, as a matter of course, that he himself had previously received it. God even speaks xxx. 12, of “the land which I gave to Isaac.”

Again, the Elohist portion, xxvi. 34, 35, forms the necessary introduction to xxvii., yet 1—45 is deemed to be a Jehovistic interpolation!

The upholders of the theory themselves despair of ever seeing anything like a general agreement in the subdivision of chapters xxviii. to xxxiii.; and this admission on their part will save us the trouble of further pursuing the subject. (48)

After the 21st member of the genealogical line was concluded in Gen. xxxv. 29, in the ordinary way, the author proceeds to the Tholedoth of Esau, Gen. xxxvi. This genealogy is exactly where we should expect to find it. It is in relation to the Tholedoth of Isaac, what that of Ishmael was in relation to Terah or Abraham; and what the Tholedoth of Japheth was to that of Shem; and what that of Cain was to that of Seth. The position of chap. xxxvi. is therefore in harmony with the whole of Genesis, and is a clear proof of the unity of authorship.

But here we come to a portion touching the names of the wives of Esau, which is stated to afford “positive proof of different authorship;” though unfortunately for the theory in

question, the different accounts both occur in what is considered to belong to the Elohistie groundwork.

The case may be thus stated:—

1. Esau, according to Gen. xxvi. 34 and xxviii. 9, married *first* Judith, daughter of Beerî, the Hittite; *secondly*, Basemath, daughter of Elon, the Hittite; *thirdly*, Mahalath, daughter of Ishmael.

According to Gen. xxxvi. 2, 3, Esau married, *first* Adah, daughter of Elon, the Hittite; *secondly*, Aholibamah, daughter of Anah, daughter of Zibeon, the Hivite; and *thirdly*, Basemath, daughter of Ishmael.

2. With the exception of *Anah* and *Beerî*, the names of the fathers are identical in the two lists. Some consider Anah the mother and Beerî the father; just as Dinah is at one time called the daughter of Leah, at another the daughter of Jacob.

But if Anah be the father, we are justified in taking *Beerî*, i.e., *man of the spring*, after Hengstenberg, as a surname, so called from his having found, not the mules, but the *warm springs* in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of his father. (49) Yet in the genealogy the original name was of course to have the preference. That he is called a Hivite in xxxvi. and a Hittite in xxvi. is not a corruption of the text as was assumed by some, but because Hittite is frequently used *usuliori* for Canaanite in general. See Josh. i. 4, 1 Kings x. 20, 2 Kings vii. 6, especially Gen. xxviii. 8.

3. The change of names or the assumption of surnames was notorious in early ages. Abram becomes Abraham, Sarai becomes Sarah, Jacob becomes Israel, Esau himself becomes Edom, Joseph becomes Zaphnath-paaneah, Luz becomes Bethel, and Bela becomes Zoar. (See also 2 Chron. xxxvi. 4, 2 Kings xxiv. 17.) And if the names of these wives were introduced by these words;—"Now these are the generations of Esau, who is *Edom*; why should not Esau's wives

have the same privilege of being called by different names, or else be known by more than one name? (50) It would seem that on marrying, *all* three being brought into a new genealogical line assumed new names, as was common according to Rosenmüller, Ranke, Chardin, Hengstenberg, and other scholars.

4. Had we biographies of these women, who have caused Biblical critics such trouble and "were a grief of mind unto Isaac and Rebekah," we should doubtless understand how they came to change or exchange their names, or assume a second name. A change or addition of name on marriage may have been as general then as now.

5. If we knew as little of the lives of Abraham, Sarah, and Jacob, as of the wives of Esau, the names of the former would be as justly adduced as proofs of a dualistic authorship. The whole difficulty may arise therefore, not from what is recorded, but from what is not recorded, respecting these women.

6. Ewald and others have assumed that Esau had more than three wives, alleging that it is nowhere stated that Esau had but three wives. We add that he might have lost one or other by death and married a sister; and thus never have had more than three wives together. Yet in chap. xxxvi. only those wives might have been named that left issue. Why, for instance, may not Mahalath, daughter of Ishmael have died, and Esau have married her sister Bashemath, without this being recorded?

7. It has been suggested that in chap. xxxvi. the first name of Adah had been changed by mistake of the copyist into Bashemath, which was the name of the third wife. Such a thing might have been possible, but it is not probable, since *all* the wives appear with new names in the genealogy, chap. xxxvi.

8. The names themselves are singularly suggestive, and

may assist in seeing how easily the one might be converted into the other. Judith or *Jehudith* "the praised one," becomes Aholibamah, perhaps from her haughty bearing and lofty stature. Bashemath, *i.e.*, "the perfumed one" may easily be changed into *Ada*, *i.e.* "the adorned one." Again, *Mahalath* likewise signifying "the adorned one," may, on the most trivial occasion, have assumed the surname of *Bashemath*, *i.e.* "the perfumed one." Indeed, in this case, the name was transferred from the first to the last wife. The trivial significance of the names of these wives, as referring mostly to ornaments, appearance, or perfume, is noteworthy.

9. As the names of Beeri and Anah have recently been identified with great ingenuity by Hengstenberg, so possibly may the two names of his daughter, and the double names of the other two wives of Esau be hereafter identified. So much seems clear. We read of one set of names when these woman are married, and of another set of names, on the occasion of Esau permanently leaving Canaan to his brother, and retiring to Seir.

Perhaps the whole family may have been re-named on settling in a new country. To the genealogy is added:—"Thus dwelt Esau in mount Seir, *Esau is Edom*." As Esau now more *fixedly* assumed the name of Edom, so may his wives have imitated their lord on that very occasion, especially as it is admitted that women changed and still change their names more frequently than men. And lastly as a "red pottage" gave Esau the name of Edom, so may the acquisition of a bracelet or some perfumery, have given his wives the names which have caused such trouble to account for.

10. We read in chap. xxxvi. 6:—"And Esau took his wives and his sons and his daughters,—and went *into the country* from the face of his brother Jacob." Here it is evident that either the name Seir or Edom is wanting after the words

“into the country;” for without some such addition the sentence is incomplete. The loss of a word may have become the cause of this difficulty about the wives of Esau. But judging from Ezekiel xxiii., Anah’s daughter, even at that early time, bore the double name Aholibamah-Jehudith, since the prophet designates the kingdom of *Judah* or *Jehudith*, as “the sister *Aholibah*.”

§ 9. SEPARABILITY OF GENESIS xxxvii.—TO CHAP. L.

All efforts to separate this section of Genesis have failed. Hupfeld indeed recognises the following as the groundwork: chap. xlvi. 6, 7, xlvii. 27, 28, xlviii. 3—6, xlix. 29—33, and L. 12, 13, 22. But these lines give neither sense nor connection. Tuch ascribes all to the Elohist, excepting xxxviii., and xxxix. 1—5, 21—23; whilst Delitzsch can allow him only xxxvii. 1—4, xlix. and L. 12, with a few mixed portions. The divergencies of the critics in details are not less striking.

Hupfeld considers that he has proved a twofold account in chap. xxxvii., and xxxix., of the manner in which Joseph was brought to Egypt, yet he admits at last pag. 71:—“*Ueberhaupt wenn irgend eins, so ist offenbar dieses ganze 39 ste Capitel so aus EINEM Stück, das jeder Trennungsversuch an der inneren Consequenz und festen Bindung des Stücks zerschellen muss.*” A similar admission respecting the entire history of Joseph is made p. 126.

The very beginning of chap. xxxvii. 1, Jacob’s living in the land of Canaan, “wherein his father was a stranger,” clearly points back to xxxvi. 6—8. Again chap. xxxvii. 14, names “the vale of Hebron” which going back to chap. xxxv. 27, is only intelligible from that Elohist passage. Then verses 5—10 recording the dreams of Joseph are essential to the whole history. They point to his future greatness, and the father, in verse 11 is said to have “observed the saying.”

Not only refer verses 19, 20 to these dreams, but also xlii. 2, where all the presumed signs of the groundwork seem to exist. When Reuben seeks to save his brother in verses 29, 30, we have a reference to it in xlii. 22. Again in xliv. 28, we have a clear allusion to xxxvii. 33.

We desire all hypercritics to compare chapters xxxvii. 28, with xlv. 4, and L. 20. Having here the closest connection with chap. xxxvii., how could we take out the supposed Jehovistic portion without violently destroying the context?

But there are said to be repetitions and contradictions in chap. xxxvii. which are supposed to be evidences of a double authorship.

First after Reuben's proposition is accepted, verses 21—24, Judah is said to make a similar one, verse 26, 27. But here is neither tautology nor contradiction. As Reuben did not reveal his whole plan of saving his brother, it was not decided what should become of him when in the pit. If left in it, Joseph must have perished. Hence Judah could fairly make his proposition to sell him to the Midianites.

Secondly, it is objected that after the Ishmaelites appear, verse 25, to whom Judah proposes Joseph should be sold, some *Midianitish* merchants pass by, to whom the brethren sell him, and who, verse 3—6, bring Joseph to Egypt; whilst in chap. xxxix. 1, the *Ishmaelites* are said to have been the people who brought him there. This is simply a wilful corruption of the text. In verse 27, 28, it is stated explicitly that they sold Joseph to the *Ishmaelites* and not to the Midianites; although it will appear from chapters xxxvii. 3, and xxxix. 1, that they are one and the same people.

It may be added, by way of parenthesis, that the person who forged the Pentateuch must have been well informed as regards the price paid for Joseph. Twenty pieces of silver were paid to the brethren and the price of a slave in Egypt is 30 pieces of silver. The merchants of course expected to profit. (52)

Thirdly, it is objected that after the brothers had taken Joseph out of the pit, Reuben goes back, being seized with despair, verse 29, 30, and receives no explanation from them.

This is very natural. The brothers either knew or guessed Reuben's intention to restore Joseph to his father, and had carried out their determination before he was aware of it. The supposition that the Midianites *stole* Joseph from the pit—one that could only be entertained by ejecting the statement in verse 28, that they *sold* him to the Ishmaelites—is too glaring to deserve notice, xl. 15. Reuben's grief is explained by verse 21, and shows the connection of the chapter.

But it is asked, where could Reuben have been during the time of the selling of Joseph? This indeed is a strange criticism! By way of analogy, we might question Herodotus when he relates the incident of Adrastus killing the son of his protector, Croesus, whilst hunting. Herodotus says nothing of Atys having separated from his guide, but this becomes evident out of what follows. Who would reproach the writer of the Pentateuch for not stating that Reuben was absent? Let the critics read how Josephus supplements the Mosaic account, and say whether it gains in beauty! (54)

In order not to interrupt the narrative of Joseph, a dark page is inserted in chap. xxxviii. respecting the family of Judah, which is the less surprising since it concerns the Tholedoth, not of Joseph, but of Jacob.

The idea that we have here a Jehovistic portion is contradicted by reference to it in the Elohist chapter xli. 12. Besides, how could the origin of the three leading branches of the family of Judah be omitted in the groundwork, (Num. xxvi. 20) which is said to have special reference to the polity of Israel.

Gen. xxxix. to xli. is, by almost all critics regarded as belonging to the groundwork, with the exception of chap. xxxix. 1—5, and 21, 23. But verses 1—5 with the name of Jehovah could not have been added at a later time, because they are

necessary to the connection. Were chap. xxxix. 6 to be attached to xxxvii. 36 as is proposed, then the fact that Joseph actually came to Egypt, and the cause of his speedily rising so high in the esteem of his master, that the latter "knew not aught he had save the bread which he did eat," would be wanting. This was not surely a self-understood thing.

As little can chap. xxxvii. 21—23, be set aside as Jehovistic, simply because the name Jehovah occurs in it. This portion is not, as has been asserted by Hupfeld, "in direct contradiction with the Elohist account." For it is both a false and an arbitrary interpolation of the critic: that the "Elohist legend" only mentions one master of Joseph, namely, the captain of the guard who was at the same time keeper of the prison; whilst "the Jehovist, on the contrary, brings Joseph, in the first instance, to some unknown private individual, and then to the keeper of the prison as a punishment for some intrigue."

In order to carry this point, Professor Hupfeld maintains that the words in chap. xxxix. 1, "Potiphar, an officer" or eunuch, are not genuine, but an interpolation or later gloss from chap. xxxvii. 36; "probably effected by the hand of the *redactor* with a view to harmonise the two accounts." But if this were so, then Joseph could not have been sold to an unknown Egyptian, but according to the Jehovistic passage, chap. xxxvii. 36, "unto Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, and captain of the guard." This passage, therefore, must be also a gloss, and the source whence the *redactor* obtained matter for chap. xxxix. 1, would be cut off! How the slave of a private individual came into the state-prison, according to this theory, is not related. (55)

Tuch has sufficiently demonstrated how closely chapters xl. and xli. are interwoven with what precedes and follows. He says, pag. 512:—"Here, in Gen. xli., Joseph is in prison, to which he was brought by the previous account; and then

verse 3, points back directly to xxxix. 20. The notice in verse 15, of his clandestine removal out of the Hebrew-land, is only to be understood by chap. xxxvii. 28, &c., and the asseveration, verse 15 that he was cast innocently into prison is only intelligible from chap. xxxix. 12, &c., &c. In the same way chap. xli. 10, is linked together with chap. xl. 1—3; and verses 12, 13, with chap. xl. 4, 7,; and verse 14 with xl. 15." Besides this, chap. xl. 14, 23, stands in close connection with xli. 9.

Not less organic is the connection of chap. xli. with the following chapters xlii. to xlv.; and the welding together of chapter with chapter, and subject with subject, is acknowledged by men whom we should be sorry to follow in other matters.

If it be said that in chap. xliii. Benjamin is considered a youth, 29, and in xlv. 21, a father of ten sons; and if Reuben in chap. xlii. 37, is said to be a father of two, but in xlv. 9, a father of four sons, these apparent contradictions are not founded in the account itself, but in the opinions of expounders who utterly mistake chap. xlv. 18—27, in not seeing that "the sons of Israel who went with Jacob into Egypt" embrace the *grandsons and great-grandsons* who formed families in Israel, irrespective of their birth before or after the emigration.

Including the Patriarch himself, and Joseph with his two sons, we have seventy, excluding them, sixty-six souls, besides the wives of his sons, who are not named, because not they, but their husbands, founded the families. Exod. i. 5, Deut. x. 22. St. Stephen, on the contrary, Acts vii. 14, following the Septuagint (which, like Gen. L. 23, Numb. xxvi. 28, and I. Chron. vii. 14, adds three more grandsons and two great-grandsons of Joseph), counts seventy-five. (56)

This is all clear. But the difficulty seems to be in Gen. xlv. 12, whence it would appear that Hezron and Hamul, the

two sons of Pharez, were born and went down to Egypt with Jacob. This ancient difficulty with which Augustine successfully battled, is again vehemently urged; it being stated and re-stated that Judah could not have had two grandsons within twenty-two years from his own marriage, and therefore Hezron and Hamul could not have gone down to Egypt. We submit the following:—

1. Augustine in his *Quest.* cxxviii. assumed that Judah married before the selling of Joseph, recorded Gen. xxxviii.

1. The Hebrew does not necessarily imply that the marriage succeeded the events just described; the accounts may overlap each other. All may have happened as described in chap. xxxviii. Suppose Judah married at once after the disappearance of Joseph, and within 3—4 years he may have had three sons. Suppose he gave Tamar to the eldest son (who, we will say, was born a year after Joseph was sold) when he was sixteen, and gave her, a year after, to the second son, there would remain five or six years before Jacob's departure, in which the twins could be born, and two journeys to Egypt take place. Yet the difficulty seems to arise in chap. xlv. 12, where the sons of Pharez appear to have been born before the emigration.

2. But it is clear from the text in chap. xlv. 26, 27, that the same expression "*came into Egypt*" is used also of the two sons of Joseph, who we know were born in Egypt. It says in the original, not that they came *with* Jacob, (57) but that they came to him, *i.e.*, he received them in Egypt. The sacred text is therefore particularly cautious. Thus *e.g.*, Reuben is said to have four sons, and yet he tells his father just before to slay his "*two sons*," to show that he had only two perhaps when they went into Egypt. Gen. xlii. 37.

3. Still more clear it seems from chap. xlv. 26, that the seventy were not all as yet born, when we recollect that the list ascribes ten sons to Benjamin, who was about twenty-

three or twenty-four years old; according to Num. xxvi. 38—40, he had eight sons and two grandsons. (58) Some of these, like others, were of course given to Jacob in Egypt.

4. It is therefore clear that some of these seventy went into Egypt in *lumbis patrum*, which the original admits, since it does not state that they went *with* Jacob, but that all the souls came *to him* in Egypt. We read of Levi paying tithes in the loins of Abraham. This view may not suit our Theologians, but it is in perfect harmony with the spirit of the Old Testament. That the list Gen. xvi. will be thus understood is clear from a comparison with Num. xxvi. (59)

5. If we take the view that chap. xvi. gives the names of the heads of the families of Israel as constituting the seventy persons, regardless of where they were born, all difficulty vanishes. That this was the case, is clear from Num. xxvi., where seventy families are given. They were there recorded as seventy progenitors of those prominent at the time of the Exodus. Some names are differently spelled, some are there omitted because they died childless. And this confirms our view that the present list of emigrants, whether born before or after the emigration into Egypt, were to be founders of *families*, as the twelve sons were to be founders of *tribes*. Hence two grandsons are added to the eight sons of Benjamin, and reckoned as sons because the grandsons became equally founders of houses or *Mishpachoth*. It explains also why Ephraim and Manasseh are raised to be heads in Israel, when Jacob adopted them; why *they* only, of the sons of Joseph are thus named, and above all, why Joseph and his two sons are actually reckoned among the seventy, Gen. xvi. 26, who "came into Egypt with Jacob."

6. It is very possible that modern criticism will maintain now, as heretofore, that Hezron and Hamul were stated to have been born in Canaan; but why not add that Joseph and his two sons, and *only* two of his two sons were also

stated to have been born *before* Joseph was sold into Egypt? The honest-minded student of the Bible will remember the high significance of the number *seven*, from Genesis to Revelation. In various instances, facts and materials are so arranged as to produce that figure. Thus in Matth. i. we have three times fourteen, or twice seven generations, which involved the omitting of several members of the genealogical line.

7. That some such idea weighed with the author of the Pentateuch when he enumerated the seventy souls, is clear from his including Joseph and two of his sons, of whom it could not be strictly said that they came down with Jacob into Egypt, Gen. xlv. 8, and from his counting Jacob himself as one of the number; although the heading is, "These are the names of the children of Israel who came into Egypt." Again, he names Er and Onan, the sons of Judah, and calls special attention to the fact, otherwise sufficiently known already, that *these died in the land of Canaan*; and then introduces the names of Hezron and Hamul in a way which distinctly shows that he regarded them as compensating for those cut off, just as Seth was regarded as compensating for Abel. When it is added that Er and Onan died in Canaan, the historian implies that the sons of Pharez, who were put in their place, had not been born there.

8. If there be no dissonance existing, as has been assumed, neither can chap. xlv. be disjointed from the preceding and following chapters. Not only introduces chap. xlv. 26, 28, to chap. xlv., but even the waggons and their use,—verses 5, 6,—are known to us from xlv. 19, 21. The land of Goshen xlv. 28, 34, we know from xlv. 10. Even the impugned list of the members of the emigrant family points back xlv. 9—19 and 21—25 to xxix. 23 to xxx 2, xxxv. 17, 18, 22,—26. Again, verse 12 refers to xxxviii. 7, 10. And verse 20, goes back to xli. 45, 50—52.

The subsequent portion, chap. xlvii. 1—12, finishes what had been begun xlv. 31, &c., &c., and Joseph accomplishes what he promised in chap. xlv. Verses 13—27 again complete what was commenced xli. 55. Lastly, verses 28—31 open the account of the end of Jacob, and are closely allied to chap. xlviii.

The confusion prevailing among the adverse critics as to the authorship of chap. xlix. is in itself a proof of the precarious foundation of their theories and the emptiness of their arguments. Even the last chapter must be disjointed and sacrificed to the Moloch of a reckless criticism. And this is done, as has been the uniform practice throughout, not by irresistible evidence, but by categorical assertions and arbitrary assumptions.

§ 10 SUPPOSED CORROBORATIVE EVIDENCE OF DUALISTIC AUTHORSHIP.

The *criteria* for the distinction of a twofold or a threefold authorship cannot therefore stand so close a scrutiny, as we were obliged to undertake, to avoid the charge of making vague counter-assertions. The purely subjective character of the criticism appears, mainly from the surprising divergence of the several advocates of a common theory, and from the contradictory arguments brought forward for the separation. Again, the *linguistical criteria*, which are pressed into the service, frequently point to documents quite opposite to those which the Jehovah and Elohim theory would lead us to expect. Even in cases where the hypothesis appears plausible to the superficial observer, it cannot be supported without alterations and interpolations of the text.

That the leaders of this question should suppose it possible to distinguish any imagined number of writers in the Pentateuch, must be pronounced a delusion. And most repre-

hensible is their claim to infallibility in connection with their would-be criticisms. It is true that these critics have not all pushed their self-confidence to the same extent as Ewald, who recognises a dozen writers in the Pentateuch; and who professes, with wonderful certainty, to assign to every one his own portion even to a single word, yet even Kurtz and Delitzsch, by assuming "two different currents," seem to fall into the same snare.

It only remains to notice a certain number of idiomatic expressions, which are stated to be peculiar to the earlier Elohist and the later Jehovist, and these are faithfully handed down as valued heirlooms. It is, however, a good omen that the school that now inherits them allows nine-tenths of these references to be fanciful.

Delitzsch admits that the assumption of the two divine names being indications of two different authors must remain a *petitio principii*, until it be *proved* that, independently of these names, the Elohistic sections have such distinctive peculiarities as to exclude the possibility of their being simply accidental. After sifting multitudes of words and particles, collected by some with immense toil, Delitzsch gives it as his opinion, that only *eight* of them could be entertained as possessing any value. Let us look at the most striking of these terms.

Mesopotamia is always said to be called *Padan-Aram* by the Elohist, whilst *Aram-Naharim* is stated to be the appellation used by the Jehovist. The last term, however, only occurs twice in the Pentateuch. But there is more to make us pause before accepting this dictum.

If *Padan-Aram*, really signify "*cultivated field of the highlands*," and *Aram-Naharim* is to be rendered, "*highlands of the two rivers*," then they cannot mean precisely the same localities. They who have no theory to uphold will at once see that both names signify different districts in Mesopotamia.

Dr. Hinks reads upon a *scarabæus* in the British Museum the words *Naharaina* (Naharaim) and *Pattara* (Padan-Aram), as two distinct provinces. (60) If, then, the geographical localities be different, or if even the one be only a more general term for the same country than the other, the theory at once receives its death-blow.

Again, the validity of such a theory depends entirely on the absolute, not on the relative, application of these terms; one exceptionable case, where there are so few instances, would go far to destroy its value as a test. Now Padan-Aram unfortunately occurs in what is called a Jehovistic section; Gen. xxv. 20. This was at first overlooked. But the point was worthy to be contended for, even after the mistake was discovered; hence one of these critics quietly cuts it out, giving verses 19 and 21, to the Jehovist, but ascribing verse 20, to the Elohist!

Not to castigate such conduct as it deserves, we simply add that if verses 19 and 21, be ascribed to the later Jehovist, then Isaac entreats the Lord for a wife, who was never named, and whom he never married. Secondly, Padan-Aram occurs in xxviii., and this chapter is called Elohistic simply because the name of Elohim occurs in it. Thirdly, it is positively untrue to state that *everywhere* the Jehovistic portions call Mesopotamia, Aram-Naharim, since this last name as already mentioned, occurs only twice in the entire Pentateuch.

The remaining seven terms have been chosen, chiefly, because they are found in the Elohistic portions, but of none of them is it proved that the very same objects are differently named in Jehovistic portions. On the contrary, they are generally phrases such as:—"In their generations," "after its kind," or "the selfsame day," which, as a matter of course, only occur under a certain concurrence of ideas or circumstances, so that they could not be repeated. Or like the word "possession," they are used in different senses, in differ-

ent places. Or they are not represented in the alleged Jehovistic sections at all, so as to form a basis for comparison. Lastly, the whole argument from the linguistic *criteria* sickens of a *petitio principii*. The difference of the documents is assumed solely from the theory of the divine names, Jehovah and Elohim, without any power to support it.

The further question whether the author of the book of Genesis, as now existing, was the first to write the principal history, or whether, in the elaboration of his work, he made use of previously written records, is repelled as presumptuous. All speculation as to what might have been the materials in existence, when the first book of the Bible was written must prove hopelessly vain. It would be impossible to define to a nicety what is original in this, or any other work of Biblical literature, or to decide what has been derived from secondary sources, or what may *seem* secondary, but in reality has been arrived at a second time by the same independent process of reasoning. The inquiry, however, becomes preposterous when the authorship of the oldest book in existence is called into question.

Kurtz, in his history of the Old Covenant, Vol. I. p. 56, has these words:—"Two questions have been raised. It is asked whether the author of the book of Genesis, as presently existing, had been the first to write down the primeval history, or whether, in the arrangement and elaboration of his work, he had made use of written records already existing? and again, at what period the author or his predecessors, of whose writings he had made use in the Biblical record, had lived? But a critical reply to these enquiries is of small importance to us in deciding as to the faithfulness, trustworthiness, or credibility of these accounts themselves. For their *highest* authentication we depend not on the human knowledge of the Biblical records, but on the Divine co-operation which supported and assisted those who wrote them. Of this Divine

co-operation we are not only assured by certain express statements to that effect in the Scriptures, and by the testimonies of Moses, of Christ, and of the prophets and apostles, but also by the Divine power which has wrought and still works by them, by Christianity itself, which is their ripe fruit, and by the history of the world, which bears testimony to the Divine character of Christianity.

“We may, therefore, confidently leave to critical research the task of replying to such enquiries ; nor do we require to wait for the final and absolutely certain solution of every critical problem which human science, as such, may perhaps never attain.”

CHAPTER III.

THE PENTATEUCH AND ITS AUTHOR.

§ 1. Conditions for writing in the Mosaic age. § 2. Internal evidence of the relative antiquity of the first four books. § 3. Positive traces in Deuteronomy of the Mosaic age. § 4. Express claim of the Pentateuch to Mosaic origin. § 5. Supposed signs of a later date in the first four books. § 6. Supposed signs of a later date in Deuteronomy.

§ CONDITIONS FOR WRITING IN THE MOSAIC AGE.

Towards the close of the last century the self-styled Higher Criticism opened its gigantic jaws to devour every fragment of ancient history, sacred and profane. The "supremacy of an uncritical belief in tradition" was said to be relaxing its grasp; (61) and the critics of the Bible undertook to settle, for the benefit of the rest of the world, what was truth and what fiction. The principles applied to test the antiquity and genuineness of Homer spread like weeds, and ere long were applied to the Pentateuch with a zeal which bordered on infatuation. But the facts of the Pentateuch could not be made to stand or fall with the fictions of Homer.

We are struck with the widely different accounts, given by the Pentateuch and Homer as to the existence or non-existence of the art of writing in their respective ages. Granted even that critics, like Wolf, in order to establish a certain hypothesis, overreached the mark when they enlarged upon the total absence, in the Homeric days, of all appearance of

writing, of inscriptions or books in general, (62) yet, contrasted with the information of the Pentateuch the difference is immense.

Our first question is therefore, were there in those days, in which the Pentateuch professes to be written, all the necessary conditions of its being then and there committed to writing? Did Moses, if he be the author, live in an age and country in which he could become acquainted with the power of writing? After a severe struggle, the opposition have yielded the point entirely, though it must be confessed that the truth had to be wrung from them piecemeal; and just so will it be in the present Pentateuchal controversy. Yet we ask again, if known, at that age, was the art of writing known to the *Hebrews*, with whose literature we have now to do?

That the art of writing was not confined to the priests in Egypt is been more than sufficiently attested, (63) and the application to another language is surely not difficult; nor is it an objection to say that the Egyptians employed hieroglyphics. Plutarch speaks of an Egyptian alphabet with twenty-five letters. (64) From the Hebrew text in Exod. v. 6, we positively learn that there were in Israel *Shoterim. i.e.,* writers *ex officio*, for so alone that word, given in our version by the general term, *officers*, can be translated. (65) Still earlier we have the sealing ring of Judah, Gen. xxxviii. 18—35. That these seals generally bore some legend is clear from Ex. xxxix. 30.

Whether the Israelites were acquainted with letters before they came into Egypt must be left undecided. Yet we know that in their school of affliction they became acquainted with the art of writing. How could they help learning to write among a people who kept a book for the most trivial matters, even for the noting down of the tale of bricks which they had to deliver, as may be seen from the frescos, still preserved in Egypt? That the Jews adopted the custom of keeping books,

is clearly proved by the existence of a peculiar order of Shotorim, or Scribes at the time of Exodus.

A further proof of the exercise of the art of writing is given in Deut. vi. 9, "And thou shalt *write* them upon the posts of thy house and upon thy gates." In chap. xi. 20. we have the same command. And the general command to write these words upon the door-posts, shows that there must have been writing in every house. The axiom *littera scripta manet*, had become practical at an early age, and there was a Providence in the fact that Israel was initiated thus early in the art of writing, and thereby became enabled to transmit the contents of the Pentateuch. The names of the seventy elders, Num. xi. 24—26, were *written* down. The curses against the adulteress were given in *writing*, Num. v. 23. The divorced woman received the *bill* of divorcement. The engraving of the twelve names of the tribes supposes a proficiency in writing. Exod. xxviii. 9, xxxix. 14, 30. Then there is the further direction, to write the law upon great stones, upon coming to the promised land.

But did the needful *material* for writing purposes then exist? When a people have been taught, or have taught themselves to write, they surely will discover some materials for practising the art. Was not the Koran written upon the shoulder-blades of mutton? That hard substances were first used for writing purposes, amongst some people, is clear from the terms occasionally employed to designate the process of writing. Yet the *Hebrew* and *Arab* term only applies to the ordinary mode of writing and nothing more. We scarcely need be reminded that the *Papyrus* of Egypt, grown in the land of Goshen, was used at a very early period for writing purposes. But enough has been said to prove that at the time when the Pentateuch professes to be written, the art of writing was known to the Egyptians, among whom Israel sojourned; besides which, the reputed author of the Pen-

tateuch was himself educated "in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," in which the art of writing, would necessarily be included.

§ 2 INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF THE ANTIQUITY OF THE PENTATEUCH.

1. Excepting in the recent onslaught on the Pentateuch in England, it must, in fairness, be conceded that all the leading and more respectable opponents admit, at least, certain portions of it to be of direct Mosaic origin. We pass over the numerous references to the Pentateuch in the Historical, the Poetical and the Prophetical books, from which, if anything can be proved, this one thing is clear, that the Pentateuch is the earliest portion of the Hebrew Scriptures. We shall confine ourselves to what the book itself shows of its composition, antecedent to the Israelitish possession of Canaan, and subsequent to the departure from Egypt; in other words we hope to show that it was composed during the sojourn in the wilderness.

The author of the Pentateuch, whoever he may have been, addresses the people Deut. xii. 9, "as not yet come to the rest, and to the inheritance, which the Lord your God giveth you;" and with this condition the entire aspect of the Pentateuch is in harmony. How otherwise could we explain the constant natural reference to camp-life and the directions for marching and halting and other indications of the people living in tents? Nor is this all. The entire omission of any allusion to a contrary mode of life, such as houses or more permanent dwellings, affords still stronger proof. The very religious services of the people partake of the migratory character, for the ark of the Covenant was kept in a tent. Closely connected with this fact are the minute directions for the transport of the ark and the holy vessels, such as could only have been written at a time, when such directions

were a matter of special concern, and which, by the admission even of Eichhorn, would have been omitted, if Israel had left the wilderness when the books were written.

Again, some of the laws could not have originated in Canaan, as for instance, that referring to women after childbirth. Lev. xii. 6. The precepts concerning ceremonial uncleanness, which required a *personal* presentation of offerings at the sanctuary, and which were modified after the conquest, could only have originated in circumstances such as are supposed to have existed when the Pentateuch professes to have been written.

Again, the author of the Pentateuch respecting his time, speaks everywhere as participating in the transactions he records. We have a precise specification of time and place in connection with the more important incidents. The historical notices could only have proceeded from an eyewitness; and there is a minuteness of detail which could have no interest whatever to a writer living long after the transactions occurred, but which was indispensable to a contemporary. We allude, for instance, to the details of the tabernacle and its furniture; the materials of which it was made, the tedious numbers and minute proportions of the curtains and the coverings, the bars and boards, the way in which they were connected; the minute directions in all these respects could only have served as specifications to the workmen engaged in the work. Ex. xxv.—xl. All such details—especially, if the typical signification of the tabernacle be, as it is, ignored, must be a mystery to those who object to the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch. No conceivable motive could have influenced a late writer to devote so large a space to what must by him be considered trifling fictions.

2. If it be admitted that the Pentateuch was written before the conquest of Palestine, it must follow that it was written in the wilderness, after the Exodus from Egypt: if

so, we should expect the author to be intimately acquainted with the desert on the one hand, and Egypt on the other. This the Pentateuch clearly shows.

The acquaintance of the writer of the Pentateuch with the language, the history, both physical and civil, and the manners of Egypt, is very intimate, and that extending through a long period. We refer only to the funeral of Jacob. Gen. 1. The embalming of the body by the Physicians; the seventy days of mourning, evidently including the forty days of embalming; the funeral train, together with the singular coffin in which the body was placed; all testify to an accurate knowledge of Egyptian life and customs. (66) Again, the brickmaking process, as carried on by the Hebrews, is a distinctive feature in Egyptian life, and may still be seen among the ancient frescos.

Then, what a marvellous agreement in the so-called story of the Exodus, and the seasons of the year at the time the Exodus is said to have taken place. Those who are acquainted with Egypt, are aware that January, February, March and April are the only months during which the cattle are in the field, while for the rest of the year they are supplied with dry fodder. Now, in Ex. ix. 19, 21, the cattle were at that time in the fields. Again, ix. 31, 32, the "flax and the barley were smitten, for the barley was in the ear and the flax was balled. But the wheat and the rye were not smitten, for they were not then grown up." Flax and barley are generally ripe in March, wheat and rye a month later.

The manna is described to be like coriander seed, Ex. xvi. 3, and Num. xi. 7, a production with which the Israelites were assumed to be familiar and which is particularly a product of Egypt. In Gen. xiii. 10, Egypt is the land which naturally presented itself as a means of comparison. Such is also the case Deut. xi. 10, 11. In the statement Num. xiii. 22, that Hebron was built seven years before Zoan or

Tanis, the writer shows an acquaintance with Egypt; and this incidental remark in itself fixes the transition state of the writer from one country to another. Zoan is evidently assumed to be known and Hebron unknown: this is suited to a nation coming from Egypt, and familiar with Egypt, but as yet unacquainted with Hebron. Here we may also mention the enumeration of Egyptian products Num. xi. 5. The abundance of fish is fabulous. The vegetables are partially unknown to us and therefore inaccurately translated; but nearly all of them are, to this day, known in Egypt, by the same names as they bear in the original. And one of them, the *Chazir*, given as *leeks* in our version, and *grass* in others, is so entirely peculiar to Egypt, that without an acquaintance with the products of that country, the various mistranslations which have been given to it are by no means surprising. (67)

We have moreover, in the Pentateuch, a number of Egyptian words, such as the original word *Jeor*, for the river Nile. (68) The word *Achu*, mistranslated meadow in Gen. xli. 2, is a peculiar kind of Nile grass, for which the river was noted and which was left untranslated by the Septuagint. (69) The Egyptian name of Joseph, Gen. xli. 45, and that of his wife *Asenath*; the royal title of *Pharaoh*; the name of the town of *On*; and the name of *Moses* himself, have been satisfactorily solved by philologists as severally belonging to Egypt and as explanatory of the country, the people and the age to which they belong. (70)

3. But if the Pentateuch were written before the conquest of Canaan, and after the Exodus from Egypt, it could only have been written in the *wilderness*. If written there, we should expect traces of it in the book; to some of which we have, ere this, alluded. None can fail to see that Arabia is most accurately described in the Pentateuch. I speak from personal observation, when I add my testimony to that of

ancient and modern witnesses, that the localities, both on the march, and before the passage of the Red Sea, are given with surprising exactness. The Pentateuch will, any day, suffice to guide the traveller in most parts; (71) and since the topography of the peninsula has been verified by recent explorations, many impertinent objections have fallen to the ground.

What remarkable evidence is found in those incidental discoveries of the fabulous abundance of quails and locusts; of the *Shittah* tree, or the so-called Egyptian acacia, of which the ark was constructed, and which to my knowledge only grows in Arabia, not even in Egypt; of the *Retem* or wild broom, which gives its name to one of the stations, and is the very shrub under which Elijah slept, when in after ages, brought to those parts.

The proof that the author wrote in the very midst of the stirring scenes he describes, and the confirmation of the geographical accuracy of the Pentateuch by modern travellers, are the more striking, since the acquaintance of the Jews with the same desert virtually ceased, after their Exodus from the wilderness; the whole mind of the Hebrew being thenceforth fastened upon Zion, and the future salvation which was there to appear.

4. As another species of evidence to attest the high antiquity of the Pentateuch, we allude to its *archaisms* of language. In these books there are words which are found nowhere else in the Old Testament. This has been admitted by the best Hebrew scholars of the negative criticism. The term applied to Eliezer, and translated as *steward*, is an instance of archaism. The root of the name, Abraham, as "*father of a multitude*," is not found at all in Hebrew, but in Arabic, thus pointing to an age when the two dialects were less distinct. The same is true of the word, *manna*; here also, we have a form, not known, or at least not regular in

Hebrew, but preserved in Arabic, Ethiopic and Chaldee; which form, I remember hearing in Arabia.

In many instances we have words which have fallen into desuetude with the latter Hebrew books. Thus, according to Eichhorn, we have no trace of the cedar and the fir, or rather the cypress, so constantly spoken of in later books; whilst the *Shittah* tree,—the acacia, already alluded to as the peculiar product of the desert,—only occurs in Isaiah xli. 19, and even there, in connexion with the wilderness. Again, the expression “tiller of the ground,” Gen. iv. 2, is afterwards rendered by “ploughman,” Amos ix. 13, Is. lxi. 5. The “reaping sickle,” in Deut. xvi. 9, xxiii. 25, meaning generally a cutting instrument, becomes more defined in Jer. L. 16. Several of the weights and measures, did not survive the nomadic sojourn in the wilderness. See the original Gen. xxii. 16, Ex. xxx. 13, Lev. xxvii. 25, Num. iii. 47, xviii. 16. The term for corn-sack which occurs fifteen times in Genesis, but nowhere else, likewise did not survive that period. The dwellings of the Hebrews are altered on their settlement in Canaan; and the women, as inhabitants of the cities, no longer wear the Arabian veil, *Masweh*; compare Exod. xxxiv. 33—35; and Gen. xx. 16; nor yet the *golden drops* of the Arabs, *Kumas*, Ex. xxxv. 22, Num. xxxi. 50, and the terms accordingly fell into disuse.

To these, might be added a number of grammatical, syntactical, and lexical peculiarities of the Pentateuch which have been diligently collected by German critics; the most valuable examples of these have already been laid before the English reader by the late Mr. Donald Macdonald. All these point to the beginning of the formation of the Hebrew tongue. Nor could it be accidental that in 195 instances, the pronoun *he*, should be indifferently used for *he* and *she* without distinction of gender. The verbal suffix as in Ex. xv. 5, is unique and ancient. The abbreviation of the

imperative in Gen. iv. 23, and Ex. ii. 20, is peculiar to the Pentateuch. In these books only we have no distinction of gender; one word and form denoting a *young man* and a *young maid*. And to these many other samples might be added. (72)

5. Lastly, in the subsequent historical works, there is no trace of any successive formation of the polity of Israel, and only through a studied perversion of the literal sense of the historical record concerning the finding of the Thorah in the temple, 2 Kings xxii., 2 Chron. xxxiv., could a later origin be maintained.

The books bear the clearest impress of their age, and all that is adduced as an apparent indication of a later origin, rests either upon misapprehension of the text; ignorance of the auxiliary branches of knowledge; wilful denial of the peculiarities of Semitic historiography; or upon dogmatical prejudices, which reject Revelation with its miracles and prophecies.

§ 3. POSITIVE TRACES IN DEUTERONOMY OF THE MOSAIC AGE.

If the scope and intention of this book be but faithfully interpreted, those very objections brought forward against the Mosaic age and origin will not only appear groundless, but will prove most necessary and fitting parts of a great and well-constructed whole. Jehovah does not, indeed, speak in the same manner to Moses, in this book as in the former. There, Moses had to transmit the words of God to Aaron and his sons; here, on the contrary, he speaks on behalf of Jehovah to the people themselves.

This point could not fail to be perceived by the opposition; and hence arose the theory that the previous books were those of the priesthood, and Deuteronomy the book of the people. Both assumptions, however, are gratuitous. Even

if the latter concerned the people alone, yet it did not certainly embrace all they were to know.

Those laws which even most deeply concerned the daily life of the nation, Ex. xx.—xxiii. are not repeated. It says nothing of the most essential rite of circumcision, which surely could not be omitted in a people's legislation; nothing is mentioned of the Passover; nor of the feast of weeks and of tabernacles; nothing of the great day of atonement, on which every Israelite had to fast at the peril of his life; nor is there any allusion to the year of release or of the Jubilee. The law of the Sabbath is only very briefly resumed with the decalogue. Of all the ceremonial purifications, so generally and individually important, not one syllable is named. We must therefore look for a deeper signification of the character of Deuteronomy. (73)

1. The object throughout is to confirm, to impress, and to render the previous legislation, real, and national. The covenant already made, was to become a practical reality. Yet the legislation is not considered as finished. The author, unlike the later prophets, makes the reader feel that the legislative authority, apparent in the previous books, is still at work in the book of Deuteronomy. The previous laws are the text of Jehovah, which Moses here expounds and applies.

2. The book of Deuteronomy is, therefore, an inspired discourse or explication of the decalogue. After the introduction in the first five chapters, in which the ten commandments of the decalogue are repeated, we have in chapters vi. to xi., a succinct application of the *first* and *second* commandment. The *third* commandment touching the sanctification of the name of God is expounded and applied in Deut. xii.—xiv. And it is striking to observe how the Deuteronomist, henceforth, treats each separate law under three different aspects, which are again brought under three other subdivisions.

The *fourth* commandment, touching the sanctification of the Sabbath day is treated in chapters xv. and xvi., on which occasion, the sabbatical year, and the three great annual festivals are appropriately brought under consideration. The *fifth* commandment respecting the honour due to parents, as the last of the first table, follows in Deut. xvi. 18 to xviii. 22. This honour, due to Judges, Priests and Prophets, afforded ground to carry out the usual tripartition of the running commentary on each particular law.

The first law of the Second Table, concerning murder, is consecutively treated in Deut. xix. xx. xxi. 1—9, and the subject handled in all its bearings and ramifications. The next, or seventh commandment, is treated under the following three distinct heads: of entering into matrimony; matrimony itself; and the education of children, Deut. xxi. The next law, "Thou shalt not steal," is also treated under three aspects in chap. xxiv.

As the first two commandments were treated together, as the foundation of the whole, so the last two are an exemplification of the sixth, seventh, and eighth commandments. In these last-named commandments, life, matrimony, and property, were rendered inviolable against *actual* aggression; and the last two laws of the decalogue render them sacred, even against the assault of the tongue and the lust of the heart. The subject is richly illustrated in chapters xxiii. xxiv. xxv. and the whole appropriately brought to a close in chap. xxvi.

3. Whilst the prophets of later times nowhere presumed to modify the Thorah, the Deuteronomist throughout asserts a free independent legislative authority. Haevernick, p. 462, says:—"Moses ist Gesetzgeber und Prophet zu gleicher Zeit. Daher die Eigenthümlichkeit seiner prophetischen Thätigkeit die ist, dass sie nicht nur das Gesetz selbst in seiner subjectiven Applikation behandelt, sondern dieses selbst weiter fortführt,

entwickelt und vollendet," But there is something more: we find precisely the same original, free and independent treatment of the *historical* events of the Mosaic age, as in the legislation.

Whenever the Psalmists or prophets recur to the Mosaic history, they always, take the events for granted, and if they enter into particulars, are scrupulously exact in adhering to the Mosaic records. The Deuteronomist, on the contrary, treats of the historical element with such ease, vigour, and freedom as none but an eye-witness could do.

In reading the work and observing the sublime, calm, and dignified indifference which befits the truthful historian, we are reminded of the beautiful illustration of F. A. Krummacher: "*Die heilige Klio kann nicht in hohen Worten die Geschichte der Menschheit reden, sondern sie führet ihren Griffel in Demuth, und indem sie sehnsüchtig ihr Haupt gen Himmel richtet, beachtet sie nicht den nachlässigen Gang ihrer Hand und die kindlich hingeworfenen Züge des Griffels.*"

With great freedom and independence he writes of the spies, adding that their mission originated, not with himself, but with the people. In the same spirit he treats the history of the wilderness at large. See Deut. ii. and viii. He knows that Moses entreated Jehovah for permission to enter the promised land; Deut. iii. 23, &c., &c. He says, in apparent contradiction to the previous books, that God was angry with him for their sake, Deut. iii. 26. In the description of the events near Mount Sinai, the same fearless independence is observable, which suggests the inquiry whence obtained the Deuteronomist all this information. In short, we are here made to drink, not from a second-hand rivulet or channel, but from the living fountain-head. The writer nowhere relates all he knows, but on every fresh occasion says so much as is necessary for his special object.

Had the Deuteronomist lived in a post-Mosaic age, he

would have permitted the great prophet to be better acquainted with later events. Certainly Moses warns the people vii. 22, that God would put out the nations before them, "by little and little." But had he really anticipated a struggle which should continue till the days of Solomon, he would not, assuredly have given the following reason:—"Lest the beasts of the field increase upon thee." On the contrary a later author would at once have stated, as Judges ii. 3, that they were not driven out, in order that they might serve as a corrective and scourge to the Israelites.

In spite of the anticipation of the Deuteronomist that the expulsion would be gradual, he always closely connects the passage over Jordan with the coming to rest, see xii. 10; had he lived in any other period, he could not have so written on the subject.

Again, the Deuteronomist clearly knows of a captivity, see chap. xxviii. 36, into which Israel was to be carried; yet speaks so indefinitely of the enemy as indeed only Moses could be expected to do, see verse 49; and since the deliverance began, under his own eyes and by his own means through the Exodus from Egypt, he looks to their being carried back thither, verse 68, as the greatest possible misfortune.

4. The author is acquainted with the Mosaic age and with foreign nations, to a degree of which we observe no trace in any post-Mosaic book, excepting that of Joshua. So early as chap. i. 4, he knows *exactly* the residence of Og of Basan-Astaroth, and in a peculiar manner fixes it for ever, by the words, "in Edrei" being added, see Josh. xiii. 31, and ix. 10. Again, he not only knows the name of the inhabitants of the regions of the Moabites, the Emim, Gen. xiv. 5, and that of the Zamzummim, but he knows also that both were only Rephaim or giants, ii. 10, 11, and 20, 21. He knows that Og, King of Basan, was the last of the giants, iii. 11, in the days of Moses. He can also inform us of the original inhabi-

tants of Seir, ii. 12; of the original inhabitants of Palestine, the Avims, ii. 23. In short, he has the ethnography of the Mosaic age, to a degree of perfection which no one could be expected to possess after the approaching change of affairs, and the rapid succession of different nations in one and the same country, had taken place.

5. We have already adverted to the close connection of the author of the Pentateuch with Egypt and Egyptian affairs. We mention a few more points as specially bearing upon Deuteronomy. Here we have frequent allusions to Egypt, the more valuable from their being made in a casual manner. The miseries of the Egyptian bondage, and the blessing of the deliverance are told, as if presented to the mind of the author in all their living reality, and he assumes the same acquaintance of facts in the persons whom he addresses, chap. vi. 21, vii. 8, 18, xi. 3. He indeed expects from their remembrance of it that they will be kind to their servants and to strangers, v. 15, xxiv. 18, 22.

Again, the comprehensive nature of the law against idolatry, iv. 15—18; the commandment to carry the Thorah on the hand and forehead, vi. 8, xi. 18—20; and to write it upon great stones, plastered with plaster, xxxvii. 1—8; all these things bear upon Egyptian customs. Then there is the Egyptian bastonade, xxv. 2; the irrigation, xi. 10; the prohibition of masks, xxii. 5, and in chap. viii. 9, we have an allusion to the mining of Egypt.

In addition we name "all the evil diseases of Egypt," vii. 15, xxviii. 60. Indeed, Egypt seems to be regarded as the personification of all the enemies of Israel, xxviii. 68. Such a view would be preposterous in any case, except where there was a proximity of Egypt, not only to the speaker or writer, but also, to the hearer or reader.

The above-named striking passage has been made use of to prove that Deuteronomy was written under Manasseh!

These are the words:—"And the Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again with ships by the way whereof I spoke unto thee. Thou shalt see it no more again: and there ye shall be sold unto your enemies for bondmen and bondwomen, and no man shall buy you." Compare Deut. xxviii. 68 with xvii. 16.

It is said that, in the time of Manasseh, the Assyrian power was decaying; that Babylon was not yet sufficiently powerful, but that Psammetich suddenly besieged Ashdod, and with his army came *in ships*.

But of these ships we nowhere read, nor does Moses say, that the Egyptians should carry them in ships; on the contrary, they should be carried and sold to the Egyptians. That the prophecy was fulfilled at one time or another is clear from fresco-paintings of Jewish prisoners on the ancient sepulchral walls of Egypt. But as no prophecy is considered possible, the passage is only so far valuable to the Higher Criticism, as it may serve to fix a time in which Deuteronomy could have been forged. Yet the case is not quite so *apropos* as has been thought; Egypt being here used as Babylon or "the Assyrian" in the prophets, *i.e.*, as the personification of all the foes of the Church, not excluding Antichrist. (74)

6. We see everywhere, that the book only suits the epoch of the person to whom it is ascribed. All events are chronicled as they could not have been chronicled at a later period. Moses, in the book of Deuteronomy, naturally speaks of "the Mount of the Amorites," i. 7, 19, 20, whilst Joshua refers to the very same mountains, as "the mountains of Judah and Israel," Josh. xi. 16, 21. Again, what can more definitely fix the position or the stand-point of the Deuteronomist than Deut. iii. 16?

The words are these:—"And unto the Reubenites and Gadites gave I the land,—*from Gilead* till the Arnon valley,

the inner part of the river and border, and till the river Jabbok, the border of the children of Ammon." This signifies clearly the land *from* the foot of the mountain of Gilead, be it south as far as Arnon, or be it north to the river Jabbok. "*From Gilead*" cannot mean the same thing as if it stood "*from Jabbok*," for in that case the words, "even unto the river Jabbok" would be quite superfluous.

South, lies the river Arnon, and north, Jabbok. Gilead, or the mountains of Gilead, are between both rivers, nearer Jabbok than Arnon. That Moses reckons therefore "*from Gilead*," saying how far from that spot north, and how far south, shows that his physical and actual stand-point was near the mountain of Gilead. Had Moses been in Arabia, or in Egypt, he might simply have stated that the inheritance would be *from the river Arnon to the river Jabbok*, of which see a parallel, iii. 8:—"From the river Arnon unto the mount Hermon." Immediately south of the mountains of Gilead towards the Dead Sea and along its shore spread the Arboth or fields of Moab, in which Israel with the Deuteronomist lay encamped! Had the adverse criticism one such case against the Mosaic origin of Deuteronomy, as we have here in its favour, we should never hear the last of it.

The same stand-point of the writer is held in verse 17. Pisgah rises east of the Dead Sea, out of the midst of the fields of Moab, and from this centre of observation the northern Chinnereth or Genesareth and the Salt Sea are determined.

In x. 6—8, we admire the accurate knowledge of localities and stations of the wilderness shown by the Deuteronomist. It indeed may surprise us to read here of the wells, or the Beeroth, Bene-Jaakan, of which Num. xxxiii. says nothing, and of Jotbath, a land of rivers of water, of which we also find nothing said anywhere else: but there is something still more important. The fountains from which Israel went when

Aaron died, and the land of rivers of waters which were reached when Eleazar became high priest, are clearly in connection with each other. The reason why they are named is, to show that the most necessary blessing of a desert life ceased not with Aaron's death as might have been feared, but even seemed to increase under his successor, as if to comfort the people for their loss by his decease.

A later author would not have known of this singular coincidence and comfort, it being one which only a person who had experienced the one and the other, and who wrote at the time, or immediately after, would have noticed. As God comforted the people upon the death of Aaron, so Moses provides against his own death, in a way which is greatly in favour of his being the author of Deuteronomy. He thinks not of the loss to the nation, of which a later writer would have thought; but, providing against a fear lest the possession of the land of promise should be deferred, he commends Joshua as the divinely appointed leader, and in chap. iii. 21—28, iv. 21, xxxi. 3, Moses appears in a light in which no later writer could represent him.

7. As the Deuteronomist feels at home in the history of Mosaic age, so he uses the same authority and freedom in the divine legislation which we expect and find natural in Moses, but which no one else could ever venture to assume. He makes *addenda*, yet demands that nothing should be added or taken from the law of Jehovah:—"Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish ought from it;" Deut. iv. 2. How could a later writer make Moses repeat these words?

Very clearly again is the time of the composition of Deuteronomy marked, by the relation which it assumes between Israel and the other nations at the time when it was written. The struggle against the Canaanites, which is made so urgent and prominent in Deuteronomy, see chap. vii. is altogether

lost sight of after David and Solomon. In its stead arose an evergrowing enmity against the Edomites, the Moabites, and the Ammonites.

They were subdued by David, but soon after revolted and became most troublesome to the weakened kingdoms of Judah and Israel. Edom, more especially, seemed determined to reverse the blessing of Jacob. Hence, Amos ix. 12; also Isaiah xi. 14, xxxiv. and lxiii. speak of the humiliation of Edom in most comforting terms.

In Deuteronomy we have just the reverse. Nothing is here anticipated of the subjection of these nations, and of their subsequent falling away. Yea, Israel is not to touch the heritage of Edom, Moab and Ammon, chap. ii. 4, 9, and 18, &c. It may be right to add that no attempt has yet been made to explain this fact as at all reconcilable with any later time than that of the Mosaic age. The Deuteronomist, moreover, gives these injunctions, not from any private favouritism; since the Moabites and Ammonites could not be received into the congregation of Israel, whilst to the Edomites—who were most hated in the later times in which Deuteronomy is inconsistently assumed to have been written—and also to the Egyptians he grants that privilege: to Edom, because he was the brother of Israel, and to the Egyptians because Israel was a stranger among them.

8. If the Deuteronomist had been anxious to make his work pass as that of Moses, he would be obliged to go back to the time prior to the conquest of Canaan, and speak of the possession of it as future. Now to make it *appear* that the work was written at one time whilst in reality it was written at another; or, in other words, to put things into the later account which had only significance at that early time, would surely be too base a deception to be practised by a man such as the Higher Criticism allows the author of the Pentateuch to have been.

Now it happens that in the book under examination, there

are commands, which in later times were altogether superfluous, *e.g.*, such as utterly to destroy the Canaanites with their idol altars, chap. vii.; to appoint additional cities of refuge after taking possession of the land, chap. xix. 9; to set up great stones immediately on entering the land and to write on them the Thorah, chap. xi. 29, xxvii. 2; and to blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven, as soon as God had given them rest from all their enemies. Chap. xxv. 17—19.

But this is not all. A great part of Deuteronomy bears a character and tone, which is not only in harmony with, and natural to the Mosaic age, but which would be unnatural and unsuitable, for instance, to the days of either Manasseh or Josiah.

Let us take the most beautiful part of Deuteronomy, chap. vi.—xi. To warn Israel under Manasseh and Josiah against worldliness, in consequence of the possession of the land and its rich blessings; or against a false toleration of the doomed nations; and to argue against vain pride amidst riches and the victory over enemies, when Judah had miserably degenerated, and could scarcely recover itself from its weakness, would have sounded cruelly ironical. Warnings against hardening of heart amidst visitations, and against distrust and despair, would at that time have been far more in place; and it requires but little acquaintance with the ministration of the prophets at that particular age to see that their ministry is of a very different character from that of the Deuteronomist who addresses a people in a measure already flushed with success.

Even in David's time, or in that of Uzziah and Jotham, the warning against self-complacency for the reasons assumed would be utterly inexplicable and at variance with facts and circumstances. Then the warning against false toleration towards the Canaanites becomes altogether *unnatural* for those later times in which Deuteronomy is wrongly placed.

9. The Deuteronomist demands the death of the idolater, the deceiver, the false prophet, the idolatrous city or family. Had he written in the days of Manasseh, as is assumed, he would have made himself ridiculous by this assumption; and if in any one point, he would, in this respect, have been obliged to modify the law laid down in the previous books; but he makes no such modifications. Only Moses, who as the mediator of the covenant, exercised the legislative authority over a people in a great measure purged from idolatry, could decree such a punishment against it.

10. In Deut. xiv. the laws concerning clean and unclean meats are partly literally repeated, partly extended, partly circumscribed. Among the *mammalia* the eatable animals are more fully particularised and specially named; the permission to eat the different kinds of locusts Lev. xi. 21, &c., is on the contrary omitted. Both modifications, however, are quite natural and in their place, if Leviticus was written in the wilderness, and Deuteronomy immediately before the taking possession of Canaan. The *mammalia* became more important to a people that had already taken part of the good land in possession, just as the locusts, belonging to the desert, lose in significance and need no longer be named.

11. Only from Moses, not from a later writer—who would have been under the necessity of regarding the prejudices of the times—could the law of the release of the Hebrew servants every seventh year be with any probability derived; and only from the same person could the command have originated, that all males should appear three times a year at the sanctuary. The release of the bond-servants had according to Jer. xxxiv. 14, been neglected by the fathers, and when the ordinance was attempted to be revived it was found impracticable.

The annual festivals decayed soon after Solomon according to 2 Chron. xxx. 26, and Hezekiah rejoiced at the privilege

of restoring the Passover, see 2 Chron. xxxv. If the Deuteronomist could dispense with the most important offerings to the Priests and Levites, he could also, if he chose, relax the law respecting the pilgrimages to Jerusalem. But he did not do it.

12. The Deuteronomist speaks of the kingdom as simply possible in times to come, yet he permits the *judge* to act as the highest authority in civil matters ; and that, not by himself, or by the authority of a still higher civil power, but in accordance with the priesthood. Had the author lived at a later period, he would have first spoken of the royal power, and then of the judge as authorised, and appointed by the king to carry out his behests.

13. If the law concerning the kingdom is not *on the whole* against the Mosaic origin of the book in question, the details of that law are positively in its favour. The prohibition of horses, and an excess of silver and gold and of wives concerns matters which were peculiar, and even essential to the very idea of an oriental king ; and to think that the sad experience of Solomon's age had already passed before the writer's eyes, is highly uncritical. It is besides overlooked that the Deuteronomist assumes far more simple circumstances than the case of Solomon afterwards presented. Solomon not only had many wives, but they were "*strange women.*" Besides, it is clear that the writer of 1 Kings x., xi., had the prohibition of the Deuteronomist already in his mind.

The clause, that they should choose a king out of their tribes, would surely not have been added at a period when a line or lines of kings already existed. Such a direction after the days of David would be absurd. But it was quite in its place in the days of Moses, when they might have been tempted to place a foreigner over them, in order to avoid any jealousy and confusion among the tribes.

14. What the Deuteronomist says of the prophetic office

also indicates an early age. Moses predicts prophets like himself in chap. xviii. 15, 18. No other writer would have presumed to place the successors of Moses on the same level with that servant of God. Although some of the later prophets were "like unto Moses" in some respect, yet they were never considered altogether on the same level. He was the source, they were looked upon as the rivulets; he was the authority, and they were simply authorised to sit in Moses' seat. This difference is plainly set forth in the appendix to Deuteronomy, chap. xxxiv. 10, where it is stated, that up to the day of the writer "there arose not a prophet since, in Israel, like unto Moses."

15. The law touching the cities of Refuge was not only superfluous in a later age, as above signified, but is a mark of the Mosaic origin of Deuteronomy, since it naturally assumed the prospective enlargement of the boundaries of the promised land; Deut. xix. 8. Such an expected enlargement and the making provision for such anticipated extension is peculiar to the author of the Pentateuch. See Deut. xii. 15, xi. 24, where he speaks of an extension from "Lebanon to the Euphrates" and the Mediterranean Sea. Also, in chap. xx. 15—20, he assumes the possibility of further conquest.

Now, it is not likely that an author who lived after the carrying away into captivity of the ten tribes, and the introduction of the Samaritans, should have spoken of such an extension, especially as from the very Euphrates came the destructive powers. If the thought did occur, it would be in connection with the Kingdom of the Messiah, Is. xi. 14, for which period, surely, the author could not think of legislating in the wilderness. It was however natural for Moses to hope for such an extension of Israel in their own land; for even the promised blessing of increase was likely to render the extension by conquest necessary.

§ 4. EXPRESS CLAIMS OF THE PENTATEUCH TO MOSAIC ORIGIN.

1. There is nothing in the Pentateuch which seems to oppose, but everything to favour its Mosaic origin. If therefore, the book itself profess not to be written by any other person, and if there be no external evidence as to its being written by any other than Moses, we should accept him of all men as the author.

We acknowledge several books as canonical, though their authors are unknown. If a book however profess to be the work of one author, when meantime it can be satisfactorily proved that it cannot be written by that author, then we must in all fairness put it down as an imposture. On the contrary a book may come down to us without a name, and yet be inspired. If a book profess to be of one age, whilst it is provable to be of another, the production is clearly an imposture. The Pentateuch might not claim to be of any particular period, nor offer itself to the world as the work of any particular author, and yet be God's revealed truth. But if it profess to be written by a given person, in a given age, and if the justice of that claim be disproved, then the Pentateuch is a barefaced imposition which deserves to be unmasked.

We ask, therefore, is the authorship of the Pentateuch an open question? If it is, then it may be one well worthy of the attention of divines; but it may be left to Theology to settle it or not, without any fear of detriment to the divine character of the books themselves. But if the Pentateuch positively claim to be written by Moses, and in the age in which he lived, and if these claims are proved to be unfounded, then the position of the work becomes untenable.

2. The Pentateuch professes to be written by Moses. Moses was on several occasions commanded to record certain facts; first of all, he was to write for a *memorial*, i.e., for Joshua that the remembrance of Amalek should be destroyed. Ex. xvii. 14.

This was to be written, not in a book, but into *THE book*, i.e., the one known to Moses. The term, book, might indeed refer to a larger, or a smaller work, but the command to *write into the book*, proves the existence of a certain book to have been already in the hands of Moses, and known to him as *the book* of God's revelation, into which the victory was to be written. The definite article before book, not only proves the existence of such a book, but takes it for granted that it was a well-known book. Ewald in his "*Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache*," pag. 567, says:—"Der Artikel steht wenn nur von einzelnen einer Gattung die Rede ist, aber von solchen die als bestimmte in der Gattung aus den Umständen der Rede und Wortverbindung dem Zuhörer deutlich sind."

In Exod. xxiv. 4. and Num. xxxiii. 3, we have the simple command of God to Moses to write, without the special addition that he should write it into *the book*. The direction where to write had been given before, and there was, therefore, no occasion for repeating it.

If it be asked, why Moses received the distinct command to write into *the book*, if we were in the habit of writing events as they occurred,—we reply, that the history of the Pentateuch was *special*, not universal, and the incident in Exod. xvi. 14, like many others, might not have been written without a special injunction from Jehovah.

In order to weaken the power of the argument from the above three passages, Delitzsch adduces the three following:—Num. v. 23, 1 Sam. x. 25, and 2 Sam. xi. 15. Begin with the last. Here it is said:—"And he wrote in *the book*, or the letter, saying, &c." This, however, referring as it does to verse 14, where it says, "David wrote *a letter*, or *a book*, to Joab," bears out the above remark upon the significance of the article, and confirms our view.

In 1 Sam. x. 25, Samuel is stated to have written in *the book*, and laid it up before the Lord. Here, surely, we have

a beautiful parallel to Deut. xxxi. 26, where Moses caused *the* book, begun under him, to be laid up in the side of the ark. This passage, therefore, like the previous one, confirms the view above taken.

In Num. v. 23, we read:—"And the priest shall write these curses in a book." Here, the Hebrew gives it as in Exod. xvii. 14, "into *the* book;" and the article is used as it should be, according to Hebrew grammar. The book is clearly marked in the connection, and is perfectly intelligible to the reader. It refers to a specific writing, about which, there can be no mistake. Thus the rules of grammar, in all three cases, bear out our view of Ex. xvii. 14.

3. In Ex. xxiv. 4, Moses is said to have written what was afterwards styled "the book of the covenant," which contained a *compendium*, see verses 3, 7, of the words spoken by God, which Israel had promised to keep, and "*over*" which book, see original in verse 8, the covenant was made.

In Ex. xxxiv. 27, Moses is required to write "these words" of the renewed covenant; and in Num. xxxiii. 2, we read that Moses wrote an account of the encampments, stations, and movements of the Israelites.

Yet, strange to say, from the very fact that, in Exodus and Numbers, only *certain* incidents are stated to have been recorded by Moses himself, whilst in Deut. xxxi. 9, it states that he wrote the *whole* of the book, it has been argued that the first four books were not written by Moses.

But, admitting for argument's sake, that Ex. xvii. 14, xxiv. 4, 27, and Num. xxxiii. 2, are not conclusive evidence in favour of the Mosaic origin of the first four books, yet the divine command to write certain facts and events, implied that the *will* of Jehovah was, to have a written account of all important events transmitted to posterity; and moreover that Moses carried out this divine purpose.

The plain and natural inference, therefore, is that Moses

made records, and added them to *the book* in his possession. This inference becomes a moral certainty as we proceed in the argument.

4. According to Deut. xvii. 18, 19, the future king is required to "write him a copy of this law in a book out of that which is before the priests and Levites." This, surely, implies that, before his death, Moses would see the book of the law complete in the hands of the priests and Levites.

Again, in Deut. xxvii. 1—8, it is commanded that Israel should write "all the words of this Torah" on stones, which was done, Josh. viii. 30—35. In Deut. xxviii. and xxix. Moses threatens the people that would not "observe to do the words of the law," with all the plagues and the curses *written* or *not written* "in the book of this law." After his charge to Joshua, in Deut. xxxi. it is said, that Moses wrote *this* law, and delivered it to the priests and Levites, commanding that they should read this law every seven years before all Israel, at the feast of tabernacles.

After this, Moses is warned of his approaching end, and commanded to write the song called after his name; and when this was done, we read Deut. xxxi. 24—26:—"And it came to pass when Moses had made *an end of writing* the words of this law in a book, *until they were finished*, that Moses commanded the Levites, which bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, saying, Take *this book of the law* and put it in the side of the ark that it may be there for a witness against thee."

5. In all these passages, the existence of the book of the written law is at the time of Moses' death taken for granted, and its Mosaic origin is incontrovertibly established. Moses could not surely have commanded that the future king should make a copy of a book not yet written; nor could Israel grave "all the laws," upon stones, in Canaan, without having an original to copy from. It would have been a mockery to re-

quire the king to make a copy of a non-existing book; and had it not existed before his death, how could Moses threaten the people with the curses written in the book, if they did not keep the statutes of that self-same book? That Moses wrote such a book and delivered it to the heads of Israel is recorded in Deut. xxxi.

The testimony that Moses delivered the book to the priests to deposit it "in the side of the ark of the covenant," has been considered as coming from another, than the hand of Moses. Yet, although a larger portion closes with Deut. xxx., we fail to perceive a new hand in Deut. xxxi. The same style continues even beyond verse 23; and there is nothing in chap. xxxi., which may not have been written by Moses. Nor must we infer from the handing over of the books in verse 9, and 24—26, that Moses, thereby, cut off from himself all access to his own work. He could surely afterwards add the remaining records with an account of the transmission; for it is not likely that the solemn transmission should have hindered Moses from making the needful addition. The account of the delivery seemed necessary to complete the work thus delivered.

Moses confided the book to the priests, to ensure its being read once in seven years, verse 9; and he entrusted it to the Levites to keep it near the ark of the covenant, as a witness of the covenant. Yet it is noteworthy that there is no mention of their actually depositing the book at that very moment, as directed. The account of the handing over of the book, seems to have been given in order to intimate, that the book passed into safe custody; it was in itself a solemn act, of which our ordination service furnishes a parallel; for here also, the Testament delivered by the Bishop is received back after having been given.

6. The song in Deut. xxxii. is evidently the last *teaching* of Moses, and from xxxi. 19, the book appears to have been

written by Joshua:—"write ye this song for you." The blessing also in chap. xxxiii., would seem to have been added by another hand, judging from verse 1.

We may, therefore, take it for granted that the work of Moses finishes with chap. xxxi., and that the three following chapters were *appendices*: the first two recording the words of Moses, the last of all being the record of another. At the conclusion of the supplement to the work of Moses no such distinct asseveration is given as that with which the writings of Moses wind up: *i.e.* "that he had made an end of writing the words of this law until they were finished." Vide chap. xxxi. 24 and 30. (76)

The attempt to disprove the Mosaic origin of Deuteronomy from the account of the death and burial of Moses, chap. xxxiv. is too feeble to require more than a passing notice. The death of Moses follows after it was emphatically stated that he had finished writing the book and delivered it into the hands of the Priests and Levites. Who will not say this is natural?

In modern literature we have a parallel case in which the authenticity could be far more easily disproved than that of the Pentateuch. We refer to the work of Sleidanus. In the Pentateuch, the account of the death and burial of Moses is given after the distinct declaration that he finished his work, and delivered it to the priesthood; in the work of Sleidanus, on the contrary, the notice of his death and burial is given without any intimation that he had finished his writings.

The person who added this information doubtless considered it altogether needless to give his own name, since no sane person would ever suppose that either the book was a fabrication, or that Sleidanus himself had given the notice of his own death! (77)

If then, the testimony, chap. xxxi. 9 and 24, be decisive, at least as regards the book of Deuteronomy, the following pas-

sages, xvii. 18; xxvii. 1—8; xxviii. 58 and 61; xxix. 19, 20, 26; xxx. 10, are added to corroborate the testimony. Here, indeed, it may be objected that the last-named passages assume a different stand-point, viz., that of the author instead of the speaker. Yet in either way, it is Moses who speaks and who writes. It is very possible that Moses was more concise in his written document than he was in his address. The former was chiefly meant for posterity, the latter for his hearers. The thought here presses, that when Moses, in his address, speaks of the written law, those very addresses were founded upon the written document already existing. At all events we know from Ex. xvii. 14, &c., &c., that a well known "book of the law," to which additions were made, as occasion required, existed, and its existence was a well-established fact.

7. These testimonies for the Mosaic origin of Deuteronomy are so clear that to all who preserve anything like an unprejudiced appreciation of powerful evidence, they must be amply sufficient. It is indeed true that the fact of a book of remote antiquity volunteering to give the name of its writer may appear suspicious: but our opponents will admit that Moses mentions his authorship incidentally, not merely for the sake of naming it.

Indeed, in chap. xxvii. and xxviii. to xxx., he takes the written character of the Thorah for granted, without regard to its authorship. And in chap. xxxi. he comes necessarily to name his own authorship, in connection with his determination to hand it over for preservation. The statement in chap. xxxi. 9 :—"And Moses wrote this law," is clearly made in order that he might add:—"And delivered it unto the priests." Also, in verse 24, the notice of his writing and finishing the book is made the prelude to what follows. The previous allusions to a written book required this *indirect* testimony of the Mosaic origin; especially as now, Moses was

about to part from his people and felt desirous to leave a written substitute for his personal presence.

8. In order to weaken the evidence in favour of the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch and to obtain some ground for disproving it, modern adverse critics allege, that the author of the book of Ecclesiastes assumed the name of Solomon.

Supposing the Preacher to have assumed a fictitious name, what a contrast between the character of the Pentateuch and the book of Ecclesiastes ; and how momentous the difference in the results, if both the name of Moses and that of the Preacher be alike assumed ! The assumption of the name of Moses by the author of the Pentateuch would have caused nations in all ages, to receive, as divine law, what after all would be only the lucky production of an individual who had assumed that name. On the other hand, the assumption of the Preacher to be a son of David would simply substitute the reflections of one wise man, of a later age, for those of another, of still older authority.

But the author of Ecclesiastes indicates no desire to be known as Solomon. He does not call himself Solomon, but assumes, as a son of David, a name which is not known among the sons of David. In this, he manifests an open and honest desire to be regarded as a fictitious author. Unlike the author of the Pentateuch, Solomon speaks of himself in a manner which could not be *literally* understood as referring to himself. Take chap. i. 12. Here he says :—" I Koheleth *was* king over Israel," which would, in point of fact, be incorrect, since he remained king to the hour of his death. See also chap. xii. 9. Both Ewald and Hitzig, in their Commentaries, agree that the author, whilst so writing, intentionally destroys the deception he seems to practice ; in other words, that it cannot, by any means, be considered either as a fiction or a deception.

9. The question arises, whether the testimony, Deut. xxxi. for the Mosaic origin of Deuteronomy is to be restricted to this book, or to be extended to the entire Pentateuch?

Able divines, such as Delitzsch and Kurtz, limit the testimony to Deuteronomy, saying that the words, "this Torah" in chap. xxxi. could only refer to the last of the five books. We offer the following remarks.

a. Before the testimony of Deuteronomy as to the Mosaic origin, in xxxi., can be restricted to that book, it must be proved that the Pentateuch existed, at that early period, as five distinct books, instead of being reckoned as one "book of the law," under which term it is quoted in Josh. i. 8; viii. 31, 34; xxiv. 26; 2 Kings xiv. 6; xxii. 8, 11; 2 Chron. xvii. 9, xxxiv. 14, 15; and Neh. viii. 1. The book of Deuteronomy is an essential *part*, yet not the whole of the law.

b. In Deuteronomy, most important statutes and ordinances are wanting. There is in it nothing of the legal purifications and precepts connected with matrimony, nor of the sabbatical year, concerning which, directions were given in Ex. xxiii. 10, 11, and more fully in Lev. xxv. 2—5. This latter was one of the most important institutions, as appears from Lev. xxvi. 34, 35, and 43. Both the king and the people must have *possessed* these precepts, if the non-observance of them subjected them to such fearful penalties. Besides, in Deuteronomy, only a passing allusion is made to the year of release.

c. If Deuteronomy alone, be "*the book of the law*," handed over to the custody of Israel in chap. xxxi. 9, how could Moses threaten the people in *this* book with the most fearful plagues for not keeping "all the words of this law," when that "book of the law," namely, Deuteronomy, does not contain them all? Or could Moses have expected that some one would rise up to write the remaining laws still due in the book, which he had handed over as his own? If Deuteronomy

contained all that was necessary, then no other laws need have been added. The book, therefore, which was finished and handed over, must have been the entire Pentateuch.

d. It is argued that the command in Deut. xxvii. 8, to write, after entering Canaan, "upon the stones all the words of this law plainly," and the notice of the carrying out of this command, could not refer to the whole Pentateuch, but only to Deuteronomy. But the writing here commanded and carried out, referred, doubtless, not even to the whole of Deuteronomy, but simply to a compendium of the law. Such restriction seems perfectly justified from the context of the command given Deut. xxvii. 1, where it is added:—"which I command you *this day*." Wherever this definition is missing we must ascertain the meaning of the words "this law" from the context.

e. It is arroneous to limit the expression in Deut. xxxi. 9, 24, to the book of Deuteronomy, since this book, according to chap. i. 5, was to give *declarations* of the law. The applicatory addresses or declarings of the law came to an end with chap. xxx. Indeed, chap. xxviii. seems to finish the strictly decalogical commentary. The portion in chapters xxxi. to xxxiv. is to all intents and purposes a conclusion, not to Deuteronomy, but to the Pentateuch. In chap. xxxi. 1:—"And Moses went and spake these words unto all Israel," we have an introduction to the parting words of Moses. That this final portion should be added more immediately to Deuteronomy is natural. If this last book be a continuation of Numbers, the concluding portion of Deuteronomy could not be placed otherwise. In a final portion, therefore, recapitulating the whole Pentateuch, the comprehensive term "*this Thorah*," must embrace the whole as a whole.

f. The appeal to Jewish tradition for proof that the command to read the Thorah every seventh year, in the feast of tabernacles, see Deut. xxxi. 10, implied only the reading of

Deuteronomy, is evidently based upon a misconception. In Neh. viii. 18, where we read: "Also day by day, from the first day unto the last, he read in the book of the law of God;" the same term is used for the reading on the feast of tabernacles, as for the reading on the first day of the seventh month; compare verse 18 with verses 2 and 3. In verses 13—17, they read out of Leviticus xxiii. 34—43. Now this reading was given, we admit, fourteen days before the beginning of the feast of tabernacles. Yet it is clear that Ezra and Nehemiah understood "the book of the law of Moses," to mean more than the book of Deuteronomy alone. If, then, the whole Pentateuch is understood in Neh. viii. 2, 3, the whole Pentateuch must be meant in verse 18. There is no escaping this inference.

g. Josephus also recognised the reading of the entire Pentateuch on the feast of tabernacles. (78) If it be objected that the whole could not be read in seven days, we remind the reader of the fact that every good Churchman in Abyssinia, to this hour, reads the entire Psalter, in Ethiopic, every day of his life. Who would question that if there were constant reading for seven days, say for ten hours a day, the entire Pentateuch with its 187 chapters could not be read twice through with comfort and solemnity? Giving ten minutes for each chapter, the whole Pentateuch may be read in thirty-six hours and 10 minutes.

h. The passage, Deut. xvii. 18, in our version, that the king is to make a *copy* of the law is mistranslated as *Deuteronomium*, both by the Septuagint and the Vulgate. (79) But neither the Chaldee nor Rabbinical divinity has fallen into this mistake. The king is *bona fide* "to make a *copy* of the law," and not to write the Deuteronomy in a book, as is supposed by some.

The Talmudists nowhere confound the original word *Mishnah*, copy, as signifying our book of Deuteronomy; and when

it is stated that a copy was made of the law graven upon stones by Joshua, they actually maintain, that the entire law was written down by him in seventy different languages. (80)

i. The passages in Deut. xxxi. 9 and 24, are nowhere understood by Rabbinical divinity as being confined to Deuteronomy. The only question with the Talmudists was, whether the Pentateuch was written at the former or at the latter part of the life of Moses; but all assume that in Deut. xxxi. the entire Pentateuch was delivered to the guardians of the Jewish Church.

Delitzsch insists upon a quotation from the *Sifri*,—one of the oldest Midrashim,—according to which, the book of Deuteronomy only was read on the feast of tabernacles; if this were substantiated, it would certainly limit the testimony of Mosaic authorship in Deut. xxxi. 9—11, to the book of Deuteronomy. But this quotation from *Sifri* would contradict the entire body of Rabbinical divinity, were we to take it, as is proposed: it must, therefore be taken as applying to certain portions which were to be read by the king in particular, and that, on the second day of the feast.

But the entire quotation (81) alludes not to what is read or not read; it confines itself to the portion of the king's reading, which was to consist of certain select sections, specifying, at the same time, the reasons for the readings of these chosen parts; for the details we must, however, refer to the note. Remarkable also is it, that this very passage, in *Sifri*, distinctly avows that the copy of the king in Deut. xvii. 18, was not restricted to Deuteronomy, but embraced the entire Pentateuch.

10. We have seen how Moses, before quitting the scene of his labours, claimed to be the author of Deuteronomy, yea of the entire Pentateuch. Wherever there is a notice of special portions being written, it is generally added, that it was written into "*the book*;" see original, in Exod. xvii. 14; 1 Sam.

x. 25, or even "into the book of the law of God;" see Josh. xxiv. 26, which book is always taken for granted to be generally known.

The passage:—"And it came to pass when Moses had made an end of writing the words of this law in a book, until they were finished," can only be understood as relating to the whole of the Mosaic scriptures. The writing of "the words of this law in a book," is here identical to having committed them to writing. Is it reasonable or conceivable that Moses should have placed his commentary to the laws of God in the sanctuary, and not those laws themselves, which were the direct utterances of Jehovah and which according to Exod. xvii. 14; xxiv. 4, 7; and Num. xxxiii. 1, partially existed in writing? Or is it likely that Moses would be careful to write and publish the sermon, as it were, and be indifferent to the text? If therefore, the term, "this law," in Deut. xxxi. 9 and 24, referred to Deuteronomy alone, as some will have it, this testimony would indirectly establish the Mosaic origin, if not of the entire Pentateuch, yet certainly of the entire legislative ordinances; and would bear the more strongly upon the whole Pentateuch, from being placed at the end of the life of Moses. Moses is here represented as having been occupied till the end of his days in *finishing* this great work; and only when on the point of ascending Pisgah did he commit his "finished" work to the keeping of others. From this we learn that the transmission of the *written* law was a matter of deep concern; and to transmit it complete in all its parts, and as a whole, was the last care of this man of God.

But the existence of the previous books, at the time of transmission, is placed beyond all doubt, when we reflect that these very books are established by Deuteronomy, not only as a whole, but in all their details. The existence of the last book takes the existence of the previous books for granted. We only remind the reader how the law respecting

the *one* place of sacrifice and worship, and that concerning meat, are respectively modified in Deuteronomy; and again, how the ordinances, respecting the sabbatical year and the year of release, are supplemented. We do not, indeed, presume to shut up inquiry with these observations; but what cannot be touched or shaken by any kind of criticism, must be regarded as an unimpeachable fact, which, under all mutations of scientific Theology, will ever remain the same.

§ 5. SUPPOSED SIGNS OF A LATER AGE IN THE FIRST FOUR BOOKS.

Adverse Criticism has admitted "that the author of the first four books wishes to be taken for Moses." (82) Were these books to contain non-Mosaic elements, this would at once render all criticism superfluous, since the existence of such elements would destroy the entire value of the books themselves. They claim to be the work of Moses; if they be not the work of Moses, they must be an imposition upon the world, so gross and barefaced, as scarcely to have a parallel in the annals of forgery.

In promising calmly to weigh the objections which are brought before us, we shall make an exception to those which arise from the dogmatic preconceptions of the objectors; and such as relate to strict matters of fact. Thus we must be excused for rejecting that species of argument which, denying the possibility of prophecy, would consider the prophetic passages as indicative of a post-Mosaic origin. We shall, *e.g.*, protest against Vater, when he objects that the threatening of exile in Lev. xxvi. 33, could not have been written previous to the overthrow of the kingdom of Israel; and that Gen. xlix. must have been written posterior to the possession of Canaan, and after the tribes had passed through the different phases of fortune there prophetically set forth.

Even in simple matter-of-fact statements, no argument adverse to the Mosaic origin, could consistently be admitted upon no better ground than that of vague probability. An author must have been found tripping in those matters before we should be justified in putting the worst construction upon his statement.

1. It is said that these books cannot be written by Moses since they always speak of him in the third, instead of the first person. But this is not a singular instance. Barhebræus for instance, in the third part of his *Chronicon*, which contains the history of the Patriarchs of the East, speaking of his own Primacy, constantly alludes to himself in the third person, and that generally under the designation of his official dignity—*Mepharino*. (83) Cæsar employs the third person in his commentaries; Xenophon on one occasion does the same; (84) so does the prophet Isaiah in chap. vii. and viii., where the prophetic character becomes historical, see also Is. xx. xxxvii. xxxix. and Amos vii. 12. In Samuel, Ezra, and Nehemiah we have the alternation of persons, showing that in the Pentateuch we have the more ancient form of historiography. This style indeed seems best to suit the subject as we see from the analogous case of the Evangelists, who likewise wrote in the third person. Both in the Pentateuch and the Gospels the individuality of the writers is suppressed in the greatness of the subject.

In the Pentateuch, it is not “potsherd striving with potsherd,” but Jehovah is treating with a nation, whilst Moses is throughout but the servant of the Lord. The assumption of a style of historiography, such as is thought indispensable by the critics, would have been in itself an anomaly, and altogether contradictory to the legislative character of the Pentateuch. The writer seems to have but one grand object; that of giving a law which should be felt binding upon the Jewish nation, and, in a modified degree, upon the whole

world; and thus to record a history which should form the basis of a revelation for *all* nations. In such a work all egotism is fitly swallowed up in the great "*I AM*" with whom Moses had to do.

That an occasional exception to this rule may be found in the book of Deuteronomy, is in perfect harmony with its character. The adoption of the first personal pronoun is as suitable and necessary here, as is the third person in other passages where it occurs. The change is thus no proof of diversity of authorship, but is a proof of its unity.

2. Some passages are repeatedly quoted as not possible to have been written by Moses, (85) and are therefore assigned to a later period. If Moses, it is argued, was so absorbed in his subject as to be oblivious of self, how could he be supposed to write those marked laudations of himself contained in the book?

The first passage referred to is Num. xii. 3—7, where Moses is said to be "very meek above all the men that were upon the face of the earth." But Moses being *faithful* over all God's house, not only in one, but in every department, could not omit recording God's praise of himself as His servant. See verse 7. He records his own hastiness of spirit when he slew the Egyptian, and also his extreme backwardness to deliver his brethren, when the hour was come. He does not shrink from chronicling his distrust in God, at his call, and his subsequent offence at Meribah. The encomium in Num. xii. 3, is but slight compared with that conferred on him by the writer of the appendix in Deut. xxxiv. 10—12. When his prophetic character was attacked, Moses himself heard it not, but "Jehovah heard it." Moses does not cry to God to vindicate his character, or to avenge his wrong; but commits himself implicitly to God, who hears, and at once appears to speak for His servant. Dean Stanley says, "no modern word seems exactly to correspond with that which

our translators have rendered 'the meekest of men,'—but which rather expresses 'enduring,' 'afflicted,' 'heedless of self;' this at any rate is the trait most strongly impressed on all his actions from first to last." (86) Only those, therefore, will doubt that these words were written by Moses, who, in this respect, are most unlike him.

By referring to Exod. xi. 2, we find, that the command to borrow, or more literally, to *ask*, silver and gold from the Egyptians, which appears so difficult a task, is both just and reasonable. It was specially to be recorded that, besides the favour which Jehovah gave the Israelites before the Egyptians, the personal esteem in which Moses was held, helped to make the giving of the Egyptians possible. What is, therefore, here and elsewhere condemned as self-praise in the author of the Pentateuch, could with as little justice be omitted as the frequently recurring clause by St. John, that he was "the disciple whom Jesus loved."

3. The words in Gen. xii. 6:—"And the Canaanite was then in the land," and Gen. xiii. 7:—"And the Canaanite and the *Perizzite dwelled then in the land*," have been repeatedly quoted as necessarily signifying, that when Genesis was written the Canaanite was no longer dwelling in the land.

Some take this as if it stood thus—the Canaanites were *not yet* in the land; others take it as if it meant that the Canaanite was *still* in the land; some take it to imply that the Canaanite was *already* in the land. But all these views do violence to the text and context. If we look at the text without prejudice we shall see that the observation is made with reference to the promise which is immediately added, verse 7:—"and unto thy seed will I give this land," which land was then occupied by the Canaanites. It simply means to convey the idea that the promised land was not without a master; that it was not lying waste and, therefore, a gift of

no value. More especially it was to intimate that Abraham would have to sojourn in it by faith, as in a strange country. The word "*then*" points, indeed, to a future change which was about to be realised when it was written. That this change had already taken place at the time when this was written, cannot be either grammatically or logically understood. This sense is admitted by men whose notion respecting the composition of the Pentateuch might have predisposed them to avail themselves of this passage to support their theory.

The purpose of the second notice Gen. xiii. 7, is not less marked. The herdsmen of Abraham and Lot found themselves straitened because of these native inhabitants. In order to explain the difficulty which then arose, the remark was natural and necessary, that the Canaanites and Perizzites were at that time dwelling in the land. The cause of the Higher Criticism must indeed be driven to extremities, to twist and torture passages like these to answer its purpose. But even had the passages the sense, intended by the opponents, namely, that the Pentateuch was written at a time when the Canaanites were *no more* in the land, it could not be stated that such was the case at *any* time. According to this argument, the Pentateuch could not have been written previous to the captivity. Only after that late period could it be said of any preceding age, that:—"the Canaanite was still in the land," in the sense of the objectors.

4. In Gen. xiii. 18, we read, "Then Abraham removed his tent, and came and dwelt in the plain of Mamre, which is *Hebron*." This it is argued, cannot have been written before the name Hebron was really given to this place, and which was not till the conquest, Josh. xiv. 15, xv. 13, were it is stated that Hebron was before called *Kirjath-Arba*. In order to see whether, or not, Genesis was written before the conquest,—at which period the name of Hebron is wrongly

stated to have been first originated,—it will be necessary to recal to mind the history of this, one of the oldest cities, built seven years before Tanis or Zoan, the ancient capital of Egypt.

Hebron, it would seem, was first in the hands of the *Amorites*, who called it *Mamre*; compare, Gen. xiii. 18, xiv. 13, 24, with xxiii. 19, and xxxv. 27. It would then appear that in Abraham's days Mamre acquired the name of Hebron, *i.e.*, the covenant place, which according to chap. xiv. has its historical origin :—"These were covenanted with Abraham." So much for the two names of Mamre and Hebron.

The name of *Kirjath-Arba* is given by the writer of Genesis in chap. xxiii. 2, as being that by which it was known in his days. But this name was only acquired when it changed masters; or in other words, when Hebron was conquered by the Anakim it was called Kirjath-Arba; "which Arba was a great man among the Anakims;" Josh. xiv. 15. It had, therefore, the name of Kirjath-Arba when Moses wrote, and retained that name till the conquest by the Israelites, who, naturally restored the original name it bore in the days of the Patriarchs. The name Hebron was thus the proper name up to the conquest by the Anakim. These Anakim were contemporaries with Moses, and they changed the name; Moses takes cognizance of the change, but always adds, "which is Hebron."

It is stated by a notorious critic that it is a mere evasion to say that the city had, of old, *both* names; we add, that it is an evasion, and a wilful contempt of truth, not to admit that the change of name was effected under the Anakim, subsequently to the burial of the holy family. The writer of Genesis certainly names Kirjath-Arba, but adds, "which is Hebron," to connect it with the past history of the Patriarchs. Has not this city and locality to this very hour two names? Jews and Christians call it Hebron, but Mahommedans call

it *El Chalil*, i.e., *the friend*, (of God) as they call Abraham. When Mahommedanism shall have perished from Palestine, this new name will doubtless give place, like Kirjath-Arba, to the older name of Hebron; and the people in the country might be told of Hebron, "which was formerly called *El Chalil*," though after all, *El Chalil*, like Kirjath-Arba, was only a temporary name. Take another instance: St. Albans may have enjoyed a British name, which together with *Verulam* may have been known to the Romans till in later days it acquired its present name.

Since it is repeated in Josh. xiv. 15, and Judg. i. 10, that Hebron was *formerly* called Kirjath-Arba, the Pentateuch, which speaks of both names as co-existing, must have been written at an earlier age, when the name of Kirjath-Arba was still in use. We have here no proof of the post-Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch, but on the contrary, indirect evidence of its having been written before the original name had altogether supplanted the one derived from the Anakim, who rose between the death of Abraham and the conquest under Joshua.

5. The next name which is brought forth to prove a later origin, is *Dan*; Gen. xiv. 14:—"And he pursued them unto *Dan*." The place was not named *Dan*, it is argued, till long after Moses, in Josh. xix. 47, therefore, Genesis cannot claim to have been written till after the event recorded in Joshua, and also in Judges xviii. 29, where we read that the Danites took Laish, or Leshem, and called it after "their father *Dan*." The whole strength of the argument here rests upon the assumption that there was but one *Dan* in the northern extremity of the Holy Land. We submit the following:—

a. We read in 2 Sam. xxiv. 6, of *Dan-Jaan*, which is different from the ancient Laish, re-named, as just stated, by the Danites. If, then, there were two *Dans*, *Dan-Jaan* and *Dan-Lais*, why may there not have been another *Dan*, which is referred to in Gen. xiv. 14?

b. Can it be proved, by any means at the disposal of the Higher Criticism, that Dan-Jaan was not the Dan where Abraham overtook the enemy?

c. The word *Dan*, in the original, consists of two letters, and signifies *judging*. Now, Abraham went in pursuit of the host which had taken his nephew captive; he overtook them, and smote them: if our opponents be allowed to make all manner of conjectures, are we not at liberty to assume that Abraham himself gave the name of *Dan* to a place where he was helped by God in *judging* the enemies of his nephew Lot? We know that names frequently arose from some such incident, without its being at all times detailed.

d. Surely many disputes occurred in those ancient days, and might not a place be rightly called the place of *judging*, where judgment, in any notable dispute had been given? Considering, moreover, that the language of Abraham and that of the ancient inhabitants of Syria were akin, the difficulty still more diminishes. What erroneous conclusions might at some future age, be arrived at, were it taken for granted that no two villages or places, bearing the same name, could have existed in our own country, or county? Had the opposition positive evidence that only one Dan existed, and that no other Dan had ever existed before the one named in Josh. xix. 47, then they might possibly have an inch of standing ground.

e. The Samaritan text and the Arab version read in Gen. xiv. 14, that Abraham pursued the enemy as far as *Banjas*, instead of Dan, as the Hebrew text now gives it. Will it be inferred from this, that these venerable authorities were influenced by the objections of modern critics; or does this not rather indicate that this place, called Banjas by them, and Dan by the Hebrew text, was another than the Dan-Laish, so named at a later period? (87)

f. We found it to be a Pentateuchal archaism to give *Jeor* or *Jor*, i.e., river, stream, for the river Nile. The same term

is applied to Dan. xii. 5, to the river Euphrates:—"Then I, Daniel looked, and behold, there stood other two, the one on this side of the bank of the Jeor, and the other on that side of the Jeor." Thus, the river of Egypt and the river of Mesopotamia were both called *Jor*. And is not the river of Canaan called *Jor*, or river of Dan, in contradistinction to the two Jors of Egypt on the one, and Mesopotamia on the other hand?

If then the *naming* of Dan, in Joshua, prove that Genesis was not written before that event, we must be prepared to hear that this river of Canaan was also named after the Patriarch Dan?

g. The Dan to which Abraham pursued his enemies was, by Josephus, directly connected with the river *Jordan*, although the *Jor* of Egypt, and the *Jor* of Mesopotamia are, now for the first time, as far as I know, brought into juxtaposition with the *Jor* of Canaan. But what is most important is the fact which it proves, viz., that the river of Palestine was called the river Dan, or *Jor-Dan*, long before the days of Jacob, and the existence of his son Dan.

Josephus names a certain Dan as one of the sources of the river *Jordan*; (88) and it is rather to the disadvantage of the negative criticism that the Danites are nowhere stated to have called the main source of the main river of the land after their father!

Bishop Watson in his "Apology for the Bible in letters to Thomas Payne," published in 1797, maintained, that Dan was a river. He says, p. 72:—"Abraham pursued them to Dan. Now a river was full as likely as a town to stay a pursuit. Lot, we know, was settled in the plain of *Jordan*; and *Jordan* we know, was composed of the united streams of two rivers, called *Jor* and *Dan*."

Although this is not quite correct, Dan being the main source, and *Jor* being applied to the entire river; yet this

passage shows that certain modern critics are not the first to awaken an interest in these subjects.

h. In Gen. xiv. 15, Abraham pursued them as far as "*Hobah*, which is on the left, *i.e.*, north of Damascus." This Hobah is now a village, a few miles north of Damascus. (89) There are three sources of the Jordan; one at Paneas, one at Hasbeiah, and one at Dan, which last, is doubtless the chief, giving the name to the river. There are also the ruins of *Telel-Kâdhi*, which is in fact an Arab version of the Hebrew Dan. This main source still retains the original name in *el-Leddan*. (90)

i. Considering the geographical *position* of this Dan—which gives its name to the river Jordan, instead of deriving it from the Danites—we find that Dan-Laish, or Leshem, which was really called after Dan, is not to the east of the Anti-Libanon, but to the west of it, *i.e.*, in the valley of *Beth-Rechob*, which belonged to the tribe Assar, now called *El Bekaa*. (91)

j. In 2 Sam. xxiv. 6, we read of Dan-Jaan, which is not identical with Dan-Laish. With Dan-Jaan textual alterations have been attempted, to make it serve different purposes. (92)

We deliberately take it as the Dan which gave the name to the Jordan. But can we not explain why it was called Dan-Jaan, without any violent textual alteration? Every Hebrew scholar knows that nothing is more common, than a transposition of consonants for the sake of euphony. (93)

We have proved that one of the *eyes* or fountains of the *Jor* of Canaan was called *Dan*. Now, *Dan-Ain*, according to the ordinary form, would have signified the eye, or the fountain of Dan. In Dan-Jaan, or more correctly, Dan-Yaan, we have the simple transposition of two consonants. In order to show that we are not hunting for far-fetched evidence to establish a preconceived theory, we refer the reader to note

93, in which several instances are given of precisely similar transpositions. We assume a similar transposition of consonants here, to transform Dan-Ain into the more euphonious Dan-Yaan; the eye or source of the Dan, or of the river Dan, *i.e.*, Jor-Dan.

k. Dan-Jaan has been thought to be derived from an Arabic root, *dan*, which signifies to be *lowly*; this would indeed agree with "the land of Tahtim," or, as the margin gives it, the lower or *nether* land, in 2 Sam. xxiv. 6, where Dan-Jaan occurs. (94) However this may be, the very account quoted by the opposition, from Judges xviii., seems to imply that there was an older Dan, which was situated in the north of the Holy Land. The emigrated Danites would not have given Laish the name of Dan—an instance without a parallel in Hebrew antiquity—had not the existence of another Dan in the neighbourhood suggested it. They, doubtless, thought that they were entitled by their birthright to enter upon the name and rights of the old Canaanitish Dan, with which the stream was associated. That they made a mistake, and that this new Dan soon had to yield in importance to the old Dan—favoured by its position on the high road to Damascus—is probable from this, that we hear later only of one Dan. This Danite colony was probably destroyed by Hadadesar of Zoba during the first period of the kings. The captivity of the land, of which we read, in Judges xviii., 30, may refer to it.

6. *Bethel*, in Gen. xii. 8, and in xiii. 3, is said to be another proof that Genesis was not written till after Josh. xviii. 13, where it says that "Luz was Bethel." The plain facts of the case are these: the author of Genesis xii. 8, was aware that the name Bethel was only subsequently given in xxviii. 19, but he used it as being a well-known locality in Patriarchal history. The name, indeed, was not yet given to the *town* close by, but only to the place where God appeared; nor did

it become general. This seems implied in the words:—"But the name of that city was called Luz at the first;" see xxviii. 19. This distinction is kept up in Josh. xvi. 1, 2, where Bethel is spoken of as a district, a mountainous region distinct from Luz.

When this town itself was called Bethel by the descendants of Jacob, the Canaanites naturally continued to call it Luz: for why should they heed a solitary stranger passing through their province, giving a strange name to one of their own towns? Bethel thus continues Luz, till conquered by the Israelites, but when conquered, the name Bethel was naturally enforced; the old name Luz being transferred to a new city that was built among the Hittites. Judg. i. 22—26.

7. Passing over a number of passages, which, to the discredit of the Higher Criticism, have been forced into its service, we next notice, Gen. xxxvi. 31:—"And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, *before there reigned any king over the children of Israel.*" Here it is said to be implied, that at least *one* king must have reigned over Israel when this passage was penned. Even Sir Isaac Newton in his dissertations upon Daniel inferred from this that the Pentateuch only received its present form, under king Saul, through Samuel. Yet the Pentateuch carries in itself its own defence against all fair and unfair attacks.

The promise in chap. xxxv. 11:—"And kings shall come out of thy loins," may indeed appear ridiculous to those who ridicule the thought of prophecy. With such, there can, however, be no argument. Yet the fulfilment of prophecy takes its time. As Cain's posterity were the first to found an empire, so the worldly element was brought to perfection amongst the Edomites, before these promised kings came from Abraham's loins, Gen. xvii. 6. Still the promise existed, and was a reality to his descendants.

They believed that they should become a kingdom; but

the rejected line seemed to have reached consistency and independence whilst the holy seed was apparently wasting away in the wilderness. The world seemed to have outstripped the church, yet it was to become true—"the elder shall serve the younger," chap. xxv. 23.

The writer of the passage, Gen. xxxvi. 31, was evidently impressed with the then-existing difference between Israel and Esau. He might have added that the Edomites had driven out the Horites and taken possession of Seir, before Israel drove out the Canaanites and possessed themselves of their land; and yet there would have been no reason to infer, that this passage must necessarily have been written after the conquest by Joshua.

But we shall turn the tables, and prove, from this very chapter, that the Pentateuch was written when it professes to have been written. The author mentions eight kings, none of whom is the son of the predecessor: because, the sovereign was elected, Is. xxxiv. 12. This is also proved from the places whence they sprang. The last king, Hadar (not Hadad, as given by an *erratum* in Chronicles), is named without it being added, "and he died." And since his town is mentioned, and his wife, and mother-in-law are described, he was evidently then alive; and there is reason to suppose that he was the very king of Edom from whom Moses in vain sought permission to pass through his territory. Num. xx. 14.

In the parallel, 1 Chron. i. 51, we have in Hadad or Hadah, not only the last king, but it is there added:—"Hadad died also." (95) After him, in both genealogies, follow the dukes, *i.e.*, Aluphim, or the aristocracy. Now, why does Genesis, written by Moses, say nothing of the death of the last king, whilst the book of Chronicles adds that he also died? Answer:—When Moses wrote, the last king, who, with all his connections, is so minutely described, was still

alive. Chronology would assign about 290 years for these eight kings; enough, even if they only began to reign after the death of the last of the dukes in Gen. xxxvi. 15—18. Lastly, the fact that no king is named from the most important city of Selah or Petra, can alone be explained by the assumption, that when the enumeration of dukes was made, that ancient city did not yet exist.

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of *Canaan*, but not over *Egypt*. The Pentateuch, it is argued from this, was written when "the wind of the sea" had come to express "west-wind." But how stands the case?

Israel, at that time, was in the land of Goshen, or the Delta of Egypt. On examining the map we shall find that to these inhabitants of the Delta, the west wind was literally "the wind of the sea." Still more, as far south as the latitude of Cairo or Suez, the west wind would have continued to the Israelites a "wind of the sea" the Mediterranean stretching southward in some parts as far as that latitude. The Israelites were thus accustomed, when in Goshen, and even during the *greater part* of the forty years' sojourn in the wilderness, to speak of the west wind as the wind of the sea. And again, the sojourn in the desert, where this was written, was in a latitude considerably more northern than the southern extremity of the Mediterranean.

The Israelites being not yet acquainted with all the modern points of the compass, a north-western, must have been, to them, a west wind. A west wind, strictly speaking, must have carried the locusts into the desert, not into the Red Sea. It could, therefore, be only a "wind from the sea," as the sacred text has it, *i.e.*, in this case, a north-west wind, blowing right over the Mediterranean, which could carry the locusts to their destination, the Red Sea; and this remarkable fact is quite independent of the subsequent *usus lingue*, by which the sea-wind became the standing term for west wind.

The statement, that "the Israelites did eat manna forty years until they came to the borders of the land of Canaan," Ex. xvi. 35, does not necessarily imply that Moses witnessed the cessation of the manna: for nothing is here said of its having ceased, as is the case in Josh. v. 11, 12, and the fact that the manna fell a little after the death of Moses can only create a difficulty in a mind determined to make one. The words in Ex. xvi. 36, "*Now an omer is a tenth part of an*

it become general. This seems implied in the words:—"But the name of that city was called Luz at the first;" see xxviii. 19. This distinction is kept up in Josh. xvi. 1, 2, where Bethel is spoken of as a district, a mountainous region distinct from Luz.

When this town itself was called Bethel by the descendants of Jacob, the Canaanites naturally continued to call it Luz: for why should they heed a solitary stranger passing through their province, giving a strange name to one of their own towns? Bethel thus continues Luz, till conquered by the Israelites, but when conquered, the name Bethel was naturally enforced; the old name Luz being transferred to a new city that was built among the Hittites. Judg. i. 22—26.

7. Passing over a number of passages, which, to the discredit of the Higher Criticism, have been forced into its service, we next notice, Gen. xxxvi. 31:—"And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, *before there reigned any king over the children of Israel.*" Here it is said to be implied, that at least *one* king must have reigned over Israel when this passage was penned. Even Sir Isaac Newton in his dissertations upon Daniel inferred from this that the Pentateuch only received its present form, under king Saul, through Samuel. Yet the Pentateuch carries in itself its own defence against all fair and unfair attacks.

The promise in chap. xxxv. 11:—"And kings shall come out of thy loins," may indeed appear ridiculous to those who ridicule the thought of prophecy. With such, there can, however, be no argument. Yet the fulfilment of prophecy takes its time. As Cain's posterity were the first to found an empire, so the worldly element was brought to perfection amongst the Edomites, before these promised kings came from Abraham's loins, Gen. xvii. 6. Still the promise existed, and was a reality to his descendants.

They believed that they should become a kingdom; but

the rejected line seemed to have reached consistency and independence whilst the holy seed was apparently wasting away in the wilderness. The world seemed to have outstripped the church, yet it was to become true—"the elder shall serve the younger," chap. xxv. 23.

The writer of the passage, Gen. xxxvi. 31, was evidently impressed with the then-existing difference between Israel and Esau. He might have added that the Edomites had driven out the Horites and taken possession of Seir, before Israel drove out the Canaanites and possessed themselves of their land; and yet there would have been no reason to infer, that this passage must necessarily have been written after the conquest by Joshua.

But we shall turn the tables, and prove, from this very chapter, that the Pentateuch was written when it professes to have been written. The author mentions eight kings, none of whom is the son of the predecessor: because, the sovereign was elected, Is. xxxiv. 12. This is also proved from the places whence they sprang. The last king, Hadar (not Hadad, as given by an *erratum* in Chronicles), is named without it being added, "and he died." And since his town is mentioned, and his wife, and mother-in-law are described, he was evidently then alive; and there is reason to suppose that he was the very king of Edom from whom Moses in vain sought permission to pass through his territory. Num. xx. 14.

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ephah," are said to have been written when the *omer* had gone out of use, and was not likely to be known to the ordinary reader. But the term *omer*, which is no where else found in the Bible, was either an Egyptian measure, which went out of use as the earthenware measures were gradually destroyed or, as has been demonstrated by the learned Michaelis, it was no measure at all. To judge from the Arabic term, *omer*,—still in use in Arabia,—it would simply mean a domestic utensil, cup or bowl, then in common use, and which being of uniform capacity was used as a measure. (96)

Were *omer* a *measure*, we should expect to hear more about it. The tenth part of an *ephah*, for instance, occurs more than twenty times in the Pentateuch without the mention of the *omer*:—these Egyptian omers, or vessels of earthenware, were soon lost, and could not be restored. Though not precisely identical in size, we can still understand why the explanation was used. Not all the manna-gatherers might have been supplied with a measure, but all probably possessed a then common vessel, which was used for the purpose.

9. In *Lev. xviii 28*, we read in the *original*: "*That the land spue not you out also, when ye defile it, as it spued out the nation that was before you*" This, it is said, implies that the Canaanites were already exterminated when these words were written. But let us look at the passage and see whether it contain no evidence to the contrary.

First, the Canaanites were *morally* doomed, and they were then actually being spued out. Verse 24 has in the *original*:—"Defile not ye yourselves in any of these things, for in all these, the nations *are* defiled, which I *am* casting out before you." The participle is here used deliberately and with significance to what was then taking place, therefore ought not to have been overlooked in our version.

Again, in verse 25:—"The land *is* defiled, therefore *do* I visit the iniquity thereof upon it" Could this have been

written after the completion of the conquest of Canaan? "And the land itself *vomiteth out* its inhabitants." The land is here personified; and who can tell what internal or *intestine* commotions were going on at that very time in the promised land! (97)

In verse 27, it is added that all these abominations, previously described, were done by the men of the land, then before them, *i.e.*, *before their face*, at that time; *not* as our version gives it, "*which were before you*, and the land is defiled." But more light is added to the whole passage in verse 28:—"That the land spue not you out also, when ye defile it, as it spued out the *nation* which was before you." Some victories over the Amalekites had been already achieved and recorded. At that time there were Canaanites on the east of Jordan according to Josh. xi.; and we ask, were not some of these nations cast out before Moses died?

Again, we translated in Lev. xviii. 28, *nation* instead of *nations*, whilst we leave the *plural* in verse 24, being in both cases guided by the original. This very important difference, which has hitherto escaped both sides in this controversy, saves us from the artificial device of assuming a prophetic sense in either of these passages. All stands in its majestic simplicity, as it behoves the records of truth. When it really refers to a past fact, "*as it spued out*," the original text speaks of a *nation*, a tribe, a people; and what is more natural than that Moses here should allude to a known people who had been spued out by some *violent* internal commotion, and from a place, which probably was at that moment before their very eyes!

I refer to Sodom and Gomorrah. Here we have an actual spueing out by a fierce judgment of God. This view is the more conclusive, from the fact that Israel is warned, verses 20—23, against the very sins, which were committed by the inhabitants of Sodom. Here, it is a past fact, and one with

which they were all familiar. But whilst a single nation or people was spued out, verse 28, the judgment upon the *nations* in verse 24, is yet to come, according to the original. (98) Thus the Pentateuch vindicates its divine character, and there can be no more powerful evidence than that obtained from a few verses of the original text!

10. Turning to the book of *Numbers*, we pass over some frivolous objections, to chap. xi. 29, which passage, it is said, could not have been written by Moses, if it be indeed true that the term, Prophet was not known before, 1 Sam. ix. 9, and that the prophet was before called a seer. Suffice it to repeat what even Le Clerc observes to Gen. xx. 7:—“*temporibus Mosis usitata erat; judicium tempore desit, inde iterum renata est;*” and to refer to the declaration in 1 Sam. iii. 1:—“The word of the Lord was precious in those days.” As frivolous is the argument, that the words in xv. 32:—“And while the children of Israel were in the wilderness they found a man that gathered sticks upon the Sabbath day,” could not have been written in the wilderness. It is perhaps surprising that the possibility of sticks being procurable in the wilderness has not yet been denied!

When Bleek pronounces this to be a “fragment,” he overlooks the wonderful connection of the entire sense with the context. It is not only one desert scene out of many, but in verses 27—31, a line is drawn between the man that sinneth “ignorantly” and him that sinneth “presumptuously,” and the punishment is assigned to each case. As it was not so easy to see under what class “gathering sticks on the Sabbath day” was to fall, a special interpretation from God of His law was sought and obtained. How unlike this to a fragment!

With regard to the wonderfully exact geographical delineation of the locality in Num. xxi. 13—15, it is considered impossible that Moses should have stated that “Arnon is the

border of Moab, between Moab and the Amorites," because, it is said, that this must have been notorious to those for whom he was writing! And was not every item of the last four books familiar to the Israelites? Where is it stated that Moses wrote solely, or chiefly for the sake of the Church then alive? If he only wrote for his contemporaries, he might have altogether omitted writing; for in that case, it would be obviously superfluous.

More serious seems, at first sight, the allusion to the book of the wars of Jehovah in this passage. Yet, instead of deeming it "an Amorite heroic poem," or a production of the days of Jehoshaphat, we take it to have been a collection of hymns in which the deeds of Jehovah were made the subject of praise in the camp of Israel. Moses hesitated not to quote a line from this book of the wars of Jehovah, thus inserting a specimen of what the critics suppose him to have given in the Pentateuch. If the quotation, however, be from a war-song, which was quite natural in those days of war, why should it be quoted as evidence of the non-Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch? The account of the wanderings from Kadesh to the borders of the Moabites was not given, probably, till both the Amorite kings were conquered, and the eastern shore of Jordan subdued.

To name one more sample from Numbers:—Chap. xxi. 1—3, is considered at variance with Josh. xii. 14, and Judges i. 17. It is argued that the first passage could not have been written in the Mosaic age. But what are the real facts of the case? In Num. xxi. 1—3, the origin of the name, Hormah, is traced to the days of Moses, the district having been then "*devoted*" to destruction, but Israel, having obtained a victory, withdrew; the king is afterwards conquered, Josh. xii. 14, but it was not till Judges i. 17, that the *town* itself was named Hormah, which, meanwhile, had resumed its name Zephath. Its re-naming, in the days of the Judges, shows

how vivid was the recollection of its first being called by that ominous name in the days of Moses.

From the fact that Moses designated the general locality or the neighbourhood, Hormah, and from there being no record that Israel destroyed the city, either in Num. xxi. 1—3, or in Josh. xii. 14, the account of the eventual destruction of the town itself in Judges i. 17, and its reference to the original curse in the Pentateuch is most opportune. If so, where remains the proof that the Pentateuch was written after the death of Joshua?

§ 6. ALLEGED TRACES IN DEUTERONOMY OF A POST-MOSAIC ORIGIN.

Since some Biblical critics, blindly followed by Dr. Colenso, have asserted that :—"whatever may be true of the rest of the Pentateuch, the book of Deuteronomy at all events was not the book of Moses ; and yet this book it is, and this alone, of which the authority is actually claimed for Moses," (99) it will not be superfluous to treat of this book separately. For if it be not the work of Moses, it must be the work of a base deceiver. Having previously enumerated positive traces of the Mosaic age in the book of Deuteronomy, it will only remain to examine what in it, might appear at first sight, to have originated at a later age.

1. Any writer who, at a later age, had undertaken to revise the Mosaic legislation, would have been in a most difficult position. To preserve the external scene of his work, to act the part of Moses with a studied exactness as to his general bearing, and yet, on the other hand, to go beyond Moses, to modify, revise, and supplement him, would have been no easy task. Assuming that some later author had personated Moses, he would have been under the necessity of carefully avoiding everything which could possibly betray his own real character.

Now, it is altogether improbable that any person so quick and intelligent, as the writer is admitted to have been, should yet have accomplished this literary crime in so negligent a way as to betray himself right and left. Nor can we agree with *Riehm* that the Deuteronomist intentionally avows himself, as the simple recorder of the addresses of Moses, since the writer nowhere distinguishes himself from Moses.

It is stated that wherever the post-Mosaic writer speaks for himself, the term "*beyond Jordan*," refers to the east of Jordan; and that the same term refers to the west of that river, when he allows Moses to speak for himself. The Deuteronomist, however, uses the term "*beyond Jordan*" only twice without any further definition; see chap. iii. 20 and 25, as referring to the western Canaan. When used in verse 8, see the original, as signifying the eastern or trans-jordanic region, it is not without an addition to mark it as such. Of the eastern part, Joshua, in chap. i. 14, 15, also uses it, but here likewise it is accompanied with the addition, "towards the sun-rising." From this, it is evident that if the term "*beyond Jordan*," is used by Moses on the east of that river, without any further addition or definition, it refers to western Canaan. But if there be any addition to mark it as such, it refers to the eastern portion. Upon this very ground, our English translation in Deut. i. 1, and 5, is justified in rendering it "on this side." The charge that the writer *forgets* his fictitious stand-point on the eastern shore, is therefore unfounded, and the blame falls upon the Septuagint and Vulgate. Our version rightly follows the Syriac and the Targum of Onkelos, in retaining the Hebrew word, leaving its *sense* to be fixed by the connection or context. In Deut. i. 1, the "*beyond*," or rather, "*over Jordan*," is clearly marked in the original as the east, by the addition of "*in the wilderness in the plain over against Siph.*" In verse 5, it is added "*in the land of Moab.*" In chap. iv. 41, it is modified by "*to-*

wards the sun-rising," and in verse 49, by the definition, "eastward."

The word translated "*beyond*" does not answer to our prep. "*beyond*," but originally referred to the side of Jordan; the Hebrew word, *abar* being probably philologically connected with the English *over*, or the German *über*, and signifying a region, *on*, or by the side of Jordan. Such, indeed, it would be, even to those for whom it is no longer a region, "*beyond*." It is the region lying literally *over* the river, or beside the river, even for those who are actually in it. Hence Gousset, Carpzow, Richard Simon, Movers, Vitringa, Hitzig, and others deliberately substitute, "*on this side*" in some parts where it is held to signify, "*beyond*." Often, even according to Knobel, it simply means, the side of Jordan; so that it requires to be determined, in the way already alluded to, whether the east or west is intended. This is beautifully exemplified in Josh. v. 1; xii. 1, 7; xx. 8; xxii. 7. Where not thus defined, we may take it for granted that it refers to the other side from where the writer or speaker is located, as in Deut. iii. 20, 25.

If the Pentateuch had been written at a later period than is assumed by us, the additions just mentioned, such as "*towards the east*," "*in the wilderness*," "*in the land of Moab*," "*over against Suph*," would most certainly have been omitted. After Israel had taken possession of Canaan, the term, "*beyond Jordan*" became the stereotyped expression for *Perea*, and was invariably applied to the eastern part, without respect to the stand-point of the writer. The explanatory additions take for granted that the book was written at an early time, when such were still necessary.

The original term, then, for "*beyond Jordan*," whenever occurring in the book of Deuteronomy, cannot be quoted as evidence in favour of a post-Mosaic origin: for when written by Moses, the expression had not yet become a standing

designation for the country east of Jordan. On the contrary, we see that whenever it is so applied by Moses and Joshua, it is *always* done with some specification to avoid any mistake.

Lastly, were it not that in all cases there is some such additional clause, when "beyond Jordan" is applied by a writer on the east side, to the east side, yet still, the term, as it is to be translated, would not furnish any proof against the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch in general, or of Deuteronomy in particular. As, for instance, the west-Euphratic regions could be spoken of the region "beyond the river," even by those who were at the time on the west, see the original of Ezra, iv. 10, 11; v. 3, 6; vi. 6, 8; viii. 36. Neh. ii. 7, 8; iii. 7, so, reversely, could the east-Jordanic region be spoken of by those on the east, as "beyond," and that, not only since the conquest by Joshua, when the term became a standing designation, but ever since Canaan with Sidon and other chief towns took the lead; and whence the *usus lingue* may have been transmitted to the Patriarchs. We might even admit, for argument's sake, that the term, "beyond Jordan," became fixed for the eastern part before the days of Moses, and yet this would not effect the Mosaic origin of the book of Deuteronomy.

3. Another objection is raised against Deut. ii. 12:—"The Horims also dwelt in Seir before-time, but the children of Esau succeeded them when they had destroyed them from before them, and dwelt in their stead; *as Isreal did unto the land of his possession, which Jehovah gave unto them.*" Here it is objected, that the conquest of Canaan is taken for granted as already past, and that the "land of his possession," could not mean the eastern shore of Jordan, but must mean Palestine *proper*.

We submit first, that the *usus lingue* is directly against the bold assertion that the term "*possession*" is only applied in

this broad sense. See next chapter iii. 20, and also Josh. i. 15, where it is confined to Gilead and Bashan. (101)

Hence, Le Clerc thought the author referred to the trans-Jordanic region. If this be correct, we need not, with Hengstenberg, assume the words, "*as Israel did*" as being partly fulfilled, and partly prophetic.

Secondly, if it be considered arbitrary to restrict the term to eastern Canaan, we beg to state that we are not driven to adopt what might *appear* a subterfuge. Instead of taking this as an interpolated clause, or as a parenthesis, we take the words, as we are bound, in their organic connection. They form part of the words of Jehovah which Moses rehearses, but which were addressed to him, probably before any part of the promised land was subdued.

Jehovah, according to verse 9, gave a certain land for a *possession* to the children of Lot. In order that Israel might not touch certain nations, they were told that the Moabites had received their *possession* from God; and in order to infer that in some sense they were helped in this by God, it is added that giants had to be dispossessed in times past. Again, verse 12, Edom also was permitted to acquire possession of the belongings of the *Horim* by rooting them out, as Israel *was then doing* with the land of his possession. Only in the second part, verse 13, the words of Jehovah came to an end, and the author himself continues.

Now, is it possible that Jehovah should be thought to look back upon a conquest as *complete*, for which He makes all these preparations, directing what is, and what is not to be conquered? Again, is it possible that the Deuteronomist should permit such an anachronism? The sense of the words "*as Israel did unto the land of his possession,*" can only be:—*As Israel shall then have done to the land when it has become his possession.* The perfect tense must be essen-

tially *futurum exactum*, as grammarians call it, which indeed it otherwise is, wherever the context requires it. Those, however, who restrict the past tense to the trans-Jordanic regions, are perfectly justified in saying, that by the use of the preterite the work is not described as finished, but only as begun and still in progress.

Lastly, if Moses in chap. xix. 14, could command:—"Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's land-mark *which they of old time* have set in thine inheritance, which thou shalt inherit"—thus looking to remote future ages—is it *impossible* that Israel might here be before the eyes of Jehovah, who speaks of them as they would be thereafter? The words spoken and written were surely not to be limited to the people then alive, but to the people who would thereafter possess the land.

4. "*Which Hermon the Sidonians call Sirion, and the Amorites call it Shenir.*" Deut. iii. 9. "*From Aroer, which is by the bank of the river Arnon, even unto Mount Sion, which is Hermon.*" Deut. iv. 48. The adverse critics here assume two things: first, either these verses are supposed to contain glosses of a later date; or the book is assumed to have been written at a much later period, when these explanatory names were really needed.

Moses, in the first passage, seeks to enlarge upon the whole extent of, what are to us, the trans-Jordanic possessions; and he means to say that they reached as far as Hermon, the mountain known to them as the extreme north. Although that name was not known either to the Sidonians or to the Amorites, yet he adds the names by which these nations also knew the mountain: so that posterity, with whom, perhaps, these names alone would survive, might know precisely which distant boundary he meant.

In chap. iv. 48, we have a similar case. To the Israelites, the general name Sion, or elevation, was the boundary; and Moses here identifies Sion with Hermon, which Hermon was

already known to them from chap. iii. 9. How natural this is will appear from Calvin's excellent remark; "*Quo certior sit locorum notitia, inserit alia duo nomina montis Hermon.*" (103) That the names of mountains change, is evident from the Arabs now calling it the snow-mountain, and *Gebel e Sheich*.

As a proof of the trifling propensities of this Higher Criticism, may be cited this objection: that the Israelites could have known nothing of the Sidonians in the days of Moses; although the Delta, in which they spent some centuries, maintained a constant intercourse with Sidon! (104)

5. To explain that, with Og of Bashan, the whole land was gained up to Hermon, it is added:—"For only Og, king of Bashan, remained of the remnant of the giants, behold! his bedstead was a bedstead of iron; is it not in Rabbath of the children of Ammon? Nine cubits was the length thereof, and four cubits the breadth of it, after the cubit of a man." Deut. iii. 11.

It is here objected, that the dimensions of this bedstead are so fabulously large, that only at a later age such an account could be given of the person of the king. But the object of the book and the chapter was, as is before remarked, to give an adequate idea of the giant-nature of the king; and to exalt the goodness of the Lord, which would enable them to overcome him. How well Moses succeeded, in impressing the violence and power of this last of the giants upon posterity, is shown by the critical opposition and doubts which have been raised by his statements. Calvin says:—"Hæc vero circumstantia iterum commendat mirificum Dei auxilium, quod a filiis Israel prostratus fuerit, qui solus sua altitudine terrere totum exercitum poterat."

The bed would reasonably be bigger than the man, and Le Clerc thought that Og intentionally went beyond the usual measure in the construction of his couch, "*ut posteritas ex*

lecti magnitudine de statura ejus, qui in eo cubare solitus erat magnificentius sentiret ;" and he pointed out an analagous case in the history of Alexander the Great, who, according to Diodorus Siculus, xvii. 19, made the most extravagant arrangements, to impress the people with the idea that his camp was on a colossal scale, calculated for giants and heroes of supernatural power. There were, for instance, two couches, each five yards long, for each man; and for every cavalry soldier, two mangers, twice as large as the ordinary ones. It has been thought, and not without reason, that Og, in his expedition against the Ammonites, left a huge bedstead behind him, for a similar purpose, which was afterwards exhibited in their chief town, Rabbath Ammon, as a monument of the gigantic dimension of their former enemy. Hengstenberg ii. 264, adds to this subject: "*Man wird sehr häufig finden dass sehr grosse Leute die Neigung haben, sich noch grösser, erscheinen zu lassen als sie wirklich sind.*" (105)

6. "Jair, the son of Manasseh, took all the country of Argob unto the coasts of Geshuri and Maachathi, and called them after his own name, *Bashan-Havoth-Jair unto this day.*" Deut. iii. 14. Here, it is affirmed, that the writer affixed to a locality, a name which it only subsequently received; and that he transferred events from the days of the Judges x. 3—5, to the days of Moses. But in the latter place, there is no mention made of the judge Jair having conquered or re-conquered these cities. It merely states that he had thirty sons, and that they lived in so many cities, called Havòth-Jair. Our version gives it correctly that the cities *were called* so, not that Jair or his sons called them so; (106) and there being no allusion to any re-naming of these cities, simply the fact that, to that day, they were called Havoth-Jair, is it not likely that the name of Jair was kept up, especially as the region still bore that name?

Secondly, it is stated that the addition "*unto this day*"

betrays a writer living in an age posterior to that of Moses. But this expression was quite natural from Moses, who enlarged with evident delight, upon the great acts which God had wrought. This appears from verse 13, where we have an accumulation of the completeness of the victory, as including "*all Bashan*," "*all the region of Argob with all Bashan which is called the land of the giants*." The whole giant-land was given, not to *all* the tribe of Manasseh, but to the half of it; in this, there was something extraordinary. The further marvel of Jair being able to change this giant region into peaceable dwellings, villages or livings, as the name *Havoth* signifies, is alluded to in verse 14.

This happy change, however, is said not to have been merely transient, as might have been, in days when Hormah rose upon Zephath, and Zephath again became Hormah, see Num. xxi. 3, and Judg. i. 17, but it was in effect, at least, up to that day. Now, even supposing that the conquest with the naming of Havoth-Jair was a comparatively recent event, could it not be said, with truth, that they were so called even at the day of recording the fact? Could we not say of a guest, recently arrived, whose departure is possible, "He is here to this day?" Moreover, the Hebrew for "unto this day" has not exactly the definite sense which it possesses in the English version, it being more like our "*till now*." In Deut. xi. 4, the signification of the words, is, "*for ever*." The Hebrew idiom expresses what we should convey by saying, "these villages are now commonly termed Havoth-Jair." But looking closely into the matter, we find a considerable space of time had intervened, so that the expression is applicable in its ordinary acceptation.

Again, it would seem that the writer in using the words, "unto this day," employed them in a sense which renders them more remarkable. As Moses was a prophet, he would foresee that there would be a future change in these villages ;

but *then, i.e.*, in his day, he informs us, they were called Havoth-Jair. The conquest, however, was not permanent, as will appear from 1 Chron. ii. 22, &c. In the days of the Judges, only some of these villages were in the possession of Jair, by which the name of Havoth-Jair would, if it had died out, be revived. Yet Moses desires to intimate that whatever changes might be coming, the villages taken by Jair in Num. xxxii. 41, were, at least when he wrote, Deut. iii. 14, still named after Jair, and in his possession unto that day. (107)

But this is not the only place where this idiomatic expression "unto this day," is thought to be against the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch. An honest examination, however, will everywhere lead to an opposite conclusion. It occurs in Genesis, see chap. xix. 38; xxvi. 33; xxxii. 32; xxxv. 20; xlvii. 26, where, no sane person could consider it post-Mosaic, since many centuries had passed at the time when the Pentateuch professes to have been written. In the three following books, it never occurs; and in Deuteronomy, where Moses looks back upon events, passed into history, it is very seldom used. This is just what we should expect. The use of it in Deut. ii. 22, where the phrase relates to the expulsion of the Horites by the Edomites, is fully justified; and in Deut. x. 8, a period of, at least, about forty years had transpired; see Num. iii. 6.

In general, therefore, the phrase determines nothing as to the time which has elapsed. That it is not always used of remote periods may be seen from Josh. xxii. 3, where it is used of the short term, in which the Reubenites, Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh were fighting for their brethren; and in xxii. 9, Joshua says that no enemy could stand before Israel "unto this day." Instead then of considering the phrase suspicious, occurring, as it does, only in Genesis and in Deuteronomy, and being employed in the manner it is, we

recognise, in it, an additional argument in favour of the Mosaic origin of the book of Deuteronomy.

7. The legislative peculiarity of Deuteronomy has been thought to point to a later non-Mosaic origin ; but instead of affording evidence of a later origin, it affords no mean evidence of its real authorship. The fact of its opening the commentary on the first two laws, by laying it down that more depends on right principles of action than on the external ritual ; putting love, in short, as the *radix* and *corona legis*, is in perfect accordance with the entire scope and character of the book of Deuteronomy. Chap. vi. and x. 16. It would, indeed, be suspicious were we to find this book opposed to the four previous ones, but as it is, the principle of love formed part of the decalogue itself :—" Showing mercy unto thousands of them *that love me*, and keep my commandments," Here, love to God is put before keeping His commandments.

The precepts of the law were indeed to prevail, and they did prevail in the three middle books ; yet when legislation was followed up by commentation, application and explanation, the spirit of the constitution was to be brought out in Deuteronomy. When the law was once given, it became the schoolmaster to Christ ; but if Deuteronomy, in this respect, be considered too far in advance to be placed at the opening of the covenant, the Gospels may also be considered too far in advance to form the commencement of the Christian dispensation ; and their origin may, on the same grounds, fairly be considered as comparatively modern.

Moses, in Deuteronomy, being more a preacher than a legislator, not only enforces but strives to awaken the love and fear of God. To do this, he had to represent God, so to speak, as more living, more loving, and more adorable than he had ever shown Him before. To teach Israel that God would be served with adoring love, Moses significantly pre-

mised his instructions with these words :—"Hear, O Israel : the Lord our God is one Lord," vi. 4. Again :—"The Lord your God is God of Gods, and Lord of Lords," x. 17. He was to speak of Jehovah as the one Lord, besides whom there was none else, iv. 35, 39 ; adding that in spite of His greatness He had chosen Israel, and made Himself known to them as to no other people, vii. 7, &c., ix. x. 14, &c., iv. 7, 32—34.

If Moses understood his own intention, he must have employed such arguments to gain his object. Yet the very fact, that Moses enforces love and the motives for love, thus showing that he understood his work and object in Deuteronomy, is converted into a proof that the book was not written by him !

Again, if in commenting on the first two commandments, the Deuteronomist intended to warn the Israelites against idolatry, he could not avoid warning them against the idolatrous worship of the heavenly bodies, so predominant in Canaan. See 2 Kings xvi. 3, Deut. iv. 19. Instead then of assuming this to have been an unknown species of idolatry, and thus seeking an occasion for doubting the early origin of Deuteronomy, we can but here recognise an additional proof of its Mosaic authorship ; Amos v. 26 ; Job. xxxi. 26. Science has greatly enlarged our knowledge of mythology, and it is now universally agreed, that astro-idolatry was the most primitive of all spurious worship. If, then, Deuteronomy speaks of the worship of these heavenly bodies, and the later writings, of the worship of Baal and Astoreth, we have conclusive evidence of its early origin.

8. It is said that the Deuteronomist confines all sacrifices to the *one place*, where "Jehovah would choose to put His name," chap. xi. whereas the other books say nothing of this, but :—"in all places where I record my name, I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee ;" Ex. xx. 24. Here we have

another sample of hypercritical violence. In Lev. xvii. 1—9, the unity of the altar was clearly established. He is to be cut off from among his people that bringeth not his offering unto the door of the tabernacle, wherever that tabernacle might be. Even in the above passage, only one altar is actually spoken of. The raising of this one altar was to be expressly limited to the place which God would choose: where He “would record his name.” This clearly refers to all the different stations, wherever the tabernacle was to stop, in the wilderness, at Shiloh, and afterwards at Jerusalem. But it bears more especially upon the several places where, in consequence of extraordinary manifestations of God, altars were raised by the special command of God, as upon Ebal. Josh. viii. 30, or upon the rock in Ophrah; Judg. vi. 26, &c.

Indeed, throughout the previous books we find but *one* altar mentioned, and but *one* place of sacrifice. That particular place was not, however, as yet fixed. If it had then been fixed, it would be a clear evidence that the books recording it were written at an age subsequent to Moses. What proof, therefore, can Deuteronomy be said to contain of a posterior age? If circumstances were, indeed, as represented in the Pentateuch, we naturally look in Deuteronomy for more definite arrangements as to the anticipated new order of things, after the conquest. This is also the reason why Moses, no longer, speaks of the tabernacle, but now calls it the “place which the Lord shall choose.” Was not the tabernacle a necessary addition to the temporary sojourn in the desert, which was then at the point of yielding to a more settled state of things? How can that which is most natural and necessary be considered an objection? As regards the oneness of the sacrificial place, the very Deuteronomist has no scruple in ordering the erection of an altar on Mount Ebal; Deut. xxvii. 5—7, and that most distinctly with reference to Ex. xx. 25. In both places it is an altar of rough stone;

and in both cases it was commanded, "Thou shalt not lift up any iron tool upon it."

Is it not clear from this, that any writer, after the conquest, who had Jerusalem before his eyes, and sought to sanction that, as "*the place*" of worship and offering, could not consistently order the building of an altar upon Mount Ebal? The building of the altar could not be a continuation of the unsettled state of things described Deut. xii. 8, which is said to have existed in the wilderness; and cannot therefore be excluded from the *oneness* of a place of worship, spoken of by the Deuteronomist. Nor was the conduct of Elijah and Elisha, 1 Kings xviii. 32, xix. and xxi., and that of certain kings, considered illegitimate. See 2 Kings xii. 2, xiv. 4, xv. 4.

Again, if the place of service were at all restricted, it was natural that Moses should ordain a perpetual locality for it; but if Deuteronomy were written later than is assumed, will the opponents state a fact, in the history of Israel, which rendered the command immediately necessary, or which made it, at least, appear desirable?

9. The Moslem holds that his creed is meant to become universal, and that its precepts are universally binding. As it, however, commands fasting during Ramadan, which fast could not be carried out in the arctic and antarctic regions, where the period from sunrise to sunset is of several months' duration, we see that Mahommed made no adequate provision for the spread of his creed throughout the world.

If the command in Lev. xvi. 18, to bring the sacrifices before the tabernacle, and to sprinkle the blood upon the altar had not been restricted to desert life, in other words, if it had not been modified on the eve of the conquest, Moses would have been in the same predicament as Mahommed, *i.e.*, he would have commanded impossible precepts, thus placing himself on a level with that false prophet; but the Jewish lawgiver could not overreach himself; vide Deut. xii. 16; xv. 23.

Again, touching the law of eating "anything that dieth of itself," we find a modification from Lev. xvii. 15, to Deut. xiv. 21. In the desert the permission to sell it to the stranger was not applicable. The strangers there, were too much incorporated into Israel to permit their living otherwise than like Israel; but on entering into Canaan it acquired a meaning.

Strangers had certain exemptions, though they were to keep themselves from certain capital crimes. Lev. xvii. 12; xviii. 26; xxiv. 16. Thus, circumcision and keeping the Passover were optional. Ex. xii. 48, 49. But if they once submitted to these points they had in all things to live like Hebrews, and of these it was true, Lev. xxiv. 22:—"Ye shall have *one manner* of law for the stranger, as for one of your own country." And instead of the Deuteronomist being less strict than Lev. xi. 39, xvi. 15, we perceive the contrary. In Leviticus, it is not absolutely prohibited to eat what died of itself, it only made the person unclean that ate, but there is an entire prohibition in Deut. xiv. 21. All this is in perfect harmony with the different circumstances of the case. In the desert, cattle were more rare and valuable, and the law is consequently less binding, than in Canaan.

In short, the change of time, place, and circumstances accounts for most of the variations pointed out by adverse criticism. In Exodus and Leviticus the Israelites were beginning their journey, in Deuteronomy they were finishing it. In one case they left Egypt, in the other, they entered Canaan. A new generation had sprung up and the promised land was partly in possession.

10. We next notice the peculiarities of Deuteronomy, respecting the law of the *Sabbath*, and other festivals, which are adduced as proof of a later origin. But we first ask, out of which subsequent period does the Higher Criticism intend to explain the fact that, according to Ex. xx. 2, and 3, Israel

was to keep holy the Sabbath day, *because God rested on the same*; whilst according to Deut. v. 15, the motive is said to be derived from God *having brought them out of the house of bondage*? Secondly, in Ex. xx. 11, it saith:—"FOR in six days the Lord made heaven and earth;" whilst in Deut. v. 15, he says: "*And remember.*" (108) When it therefore finishes: "Therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day," the sense may be:—that thou mayest remember the redemption out of Egypt, has the Lord commanded thee to keep the long-established Sabbath. But whatever sense it may or may not have, Moses, at all events, does *not* say, "therefore the Lord thy God has ordained the Sabbath day;" but taking the well-known cause for granted, as well-known, he says: "therefore the Lord commanded thee to *keep it.*" The Deuteronomist, throughout, seeks to enforce *motives* for keeping the previously given law. On being, once a week, set free from the yoke, they were to remember their deliverance: thus the one is included in the other.

Was not the deliverance from Egypt made the foundation upon which, the whole legislation was based, not only of duties towards God, Ex. xx. 2, 3, but also of those towards man? Lev. xix. 36, xxv. 35—42. And what could be more natural, when speaking of the duty of giving the man-servant and the maid-servant freedom from work, than to remind them of the Exodus from the house of bondage?

Dr. Colenso's objection (109) that "the latter part of the fourth commandment is completely altered, and a totally different reason assigned in the passage of Deuteronomy for sanctifying the Sabbath from that laid down in the book of Exodus," must, therefore, be deemed unfair, if not malicious. Moses, in this recapitulation of the decalogue, omits the foundation upon which the law is based, and fastens upon the *momentum subjectivum* of the rest or refreshment of the Sabbath, as in Ex. xxiii. 12, reminding the people of their

Egyptian servitude and subsequent deliverance, with the addition, *therefore*, that thou shouldst remember this redemption out of Egyptian bondage, the Lord has commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day.

Perhaps, in the next place, we shall hear that there is a further "absolute contradiction," in the Deuteronomist adding the *ox* and the *ass* to the *cattle*, *i.e.*, camels and horses of the writer of Exodus xx. ; or because, in verse 21, he adds the *field* to things not to be coveted ! Yet, what is more striking, and what can more convincingly demonstrate that, when the law was given in Exodus, Israel was in the wilderness ; but when Deuteronomy was written, Israel was within sight of the promised land, where the ox, and the ass, and the field became more prominent objects.

11. The supplemental remarks, touching the *Sabbatical year*, and the *release* of the *poor Hebrew brother*, have been adduced as proofs of the post-Mosaic origin of the book of Deuteronomy. Yet here, as in other instances, we find evidence in favour of a contrary conclusion.

The Sabbatical year would have failed in its object, had there been only a cessation from work, on the seventh year, succeeded by oppression of the debtor and the poor, in order to make up for the deficiency. And there was, indeed, some danger connected with a two literal observation of the ordinance. It was, therefore, of great moment that the Deuteronomist should ordain this Sabbatical year to be a year of release, in which the creditor was to abstain from exacting his dues. And lest any one should be tempted to abstain from lending on the eve of the year of release, he warns against harshly repelling a poor brother who might wish to borrow. See Deut. xv. 1—11.

Again, the release of the Hebrew bondman or bondwoman, at the end of seven years, would not be what it should be, if there were simply a release and no more. To send him

empty away would be in reality no release: if sent away empty he would have no choice but to enter at once upon a fresh servitude. The author demands, therefore, that the released brother be "furnished liberally" with every good thing, see Deut. xv. 12—18.

12. As this supplemental ordinance, touching the Sabbatical year, appears most perfect and natural, so does the entire *omission of the year of Jubilee*. The manner in which Deuteronomy sought to enforce a *right* observation of the Sabbatical year, and a *right* release of those in bondage, was every way directly applicable to the year of Jubilee. There was nothing to be added. All had been told. The Jubilee was only an intensified or prolonged Sabbatical year.

It has been stated that these institutions were treated of, in Deuteronomy, rather as benevolent, than religious, in their character. The poor are certainly brought out very prominently, yet not for the first time. See Ex. xxiii. 11, 12, with 9, and Lev. xxv. 1—7. This practical view is very prominent, because only by self-denial and unworldliness can a right spirit be infused into the keeping of festivals: the Sabbatical years, without it, could, no more, be seasons of holy rest and joy, as intended, than the Sabbaths themselves.

With a view further to prove Deuteronomy of later origin, the most extraordinary difficulties are created. It is said that, as soon as the nation came to be only partially occupied with agriculture, the Sabbatical year would, no longer, be a *general* festival; and that, therefore, the Deuteronomist substituted for cessation of labour, not only the non-exaction of debts during that period, but even the release from them, which properly belonged to the Jubilee.

But, we may ask, was it easier to produce a remission of debt than a cessation of labour? It is affirmed that some of the Mosaic laws had become insufficient; let this be admitted for argument's sake: yet, was it then likely to be more easy

to restore or to sustain the keeping of the old Sabbatical year by so unpopular an accompaniment? And further, it is advanced, that the observation of the Jubilee had become so obsolete, in the days of Solomon, that the author, who is *supposed* to have lived then, was altogether silent about it; retaining only the remission of debt which he restricted to the Sabbatical year.

The return of landed property was, in point of fact, only a repetition of leases; consequently, *that* which seemed most difficult of all the Jubilee requirements, namely, the remission of debts, the Deuteronomist is said to have retained; and whilst other things were abandoned as impracticable, he is believed to have caused a most unpopular ordinance to be repeated once every seven, instead of once only in fifty years! A still greater absurdity is thrust upon us by these critics. By the original law, the bondservant was released once every seven years; see Ex. xxi. 1. This law had to be extended to every fifty years in Lev. xxv. 39. The Deuteronomist, however, coming still later, and at a period when, according to these critics, he had been compelled to drop the Jubilee altogether, had the audacity to restore the manumission to every seventh year!

If, again, the Deuteronomist be not a practical man, but a theorist, who prescribes the original law without regard to any alteration of circumstances, then why did he not restore the Jubilee itself, which, in later times, was a favourite ordinance with the prophets, supposed to be contemporaneous with the Deuteronomist? See Is. lxi. 2; Jer. xi. 23; xxiii. 12; xlviii. 44; and Ez. xlvi. 16—19.

If, on the other hand, these things were suggested by the spirit of the age in which the Deuteronomist actually lived, why should he revive ordinances which we should least expect in his days. Again, if our book be thought to abolish what it silently passes over, then we must take it for granted that

it meant to abolish the old law, of retaining the wife and children of the servant who got married in the master's service, and that, at a period when the cupidity of the master, even, claimed the servant for ever; see Jer. xxxiv. 14—17.

But the Deuteronomist is said to agree with Ex. xxi. 1, respecting the release of the bondservant, in contradiction to what is considered a later extension of the seven, to fifty years, just alluded to in Lev. xxv. 39. This is but one of the many instances where contradictions are hunted up at a moment's notice. We have here, however, not an alteration of Ex. xxi., but are simply told that, in order, to make the Jubilee a real Jubilee, the servant should be absolutely free, whatever time he might have served. A bond-servant might have served only two years when the Jubilee arrived, yet he was to be set free, whilst in the Sabbatical year the full seven years must first have fully expired.

13. The strongest proof of a later origin of Deuteronomy is thought to exist in the legislation respecting the *judges* and the *king*. First, there were to be judges in the separate provincial towns, and in difficult cases it was said, "then shalt thou arise and get thee up unto the place which the Lord thy God shall choose, and thou shalt come unto the priests and Levites, and unto the judge that shall be in those days." Deut. xvii. 8, 9. Here, it is objected that the command to "arise and get thee up to the place," savours of a time when the pilgrimage to Jerusalem was already in vogue; but the merest beginner in Hebrew knows that the term *alah*, which, at a later time, became the standing term for going to Jerusalem, is used of every locality, even if not physically high: just as from all parts of Great Britain people always speak of *going up* to London.

There was, secondly, nothing more natural than that Moses should have taken such measures as are here questioned. Vatke, indeed, in his *Biblische Theologie*, p. 207, justly sup-

poses that Moses, if really a lawgiver, would have appointed the *executive*, as well as the judicial authority; and correctly infers, from nothing being mentioned about the appointment of the former, that it actually existed when the legislation was effected. The executive power, as different from that of the judges, existed to perfection in the elders of Israel.

It is inferred from the command in Deut. xvii. 8, 9, see Riehm, p. 63, that a judicial *collegium*, presided over by a lay-judge besides the high-priest, must have existed at the time when it was given; the wonderful argument which led to this assumption, being, that the Deuteronomist could not appoint what did not already exist!

After such a display of logical acumen, the critics seek to discover, from history, when judges were first found to exist in cities. Although they assert that the books of Chronicles are not to be depended upon, as historical records, yet here they consider they may as well be put to some good account! In 1 Chron. xxiii. 1—4, and xxvi. 29, 32, David, at the end of his life, is said to have appointed six thousand priests and Levites as judges and *Shoterim*; but this proved inconveniently early for the composition of Deuteronomy, which, according to their view, could only be of post-Davidic origin. To accommodate the distressed critics, another passage, referring to events recorded more than a hundred years later, 2 Chron. xix. 5, is resorted to where it is said that Jehoshaphat appointed judges "in the land throughout all the fenced cities of Judah, city by city."

And what are the simple facts of the case? The existence of judges is taken for granted in all ages by Jewish history; see Josh. viii. 23; xxiv. 1. How indeed could any communion, though only half civilized, exist, without some simple institutions, such as are appointed in Deut. xvii.? Dr. Riehm, here, perceives the "surest evidence" that Deuteronomy could not have existed before the days of Jehos-

haphat, yet he cannot see that what in Deut. xvii. is considered as future, essentially differs from the appointment of Jehoshaphat: for the latter nowhere names this imaginary double judicial *collegium*, the priests in verse 11, being only named as those that know the law, and the high priest in verse 12, appearing in his official capacity; nor does the judge at the sanctuary appear in the character of supreme judge. Again, there is another difference in Deut. xvii. also i. 13, and in chap xvi. 18, the judges are appointed by the people themselves; whilst in 2 Chron. xix., it is the king who ordains them. The former, we should expect, in an age like that of Moses; the latter, corresponds to the monarchical principles. Otherwise Jehoshaphat, in his charge to the newly appointed judges, 2 Chron. xix., 10, &c., clearly reflects on Deut. xvii. 8; and the priest and Levite were, by virtue of this very law, considered eligible, in David's time, to act as judges. Thus, as is usual, we have extracted evidence of the Mosaic origin of Deuteronomy from the very passages which are quoted by the opposition against it.

14. We have briefly alluded to the law, affecting the future kings, in p. 110, where the traces, in Deuteronomy, of the Mosaic age were reviewed. The Mosaic origin of Deut. xvii. 14—20, cannot be questioned simply because no legislative cognizance of the kingdom had been taken in the previous books.

Till the time of Deuteronomy Moses was, *de facto*, king over Israel; and as, immediately after him, a *duke*, or a leader of the people, on their way to Canaan, was to follow, the legislation respecting the kingdom was fitly postponed to a period when he should legislate *ex-professo* for the eventual development of the constitution. In treating, therefore, of the Fifth Commandment, Moses could not fully explain it, without noticing the future form of government in Israel.

All the surrounding nations, even then, had kings. Had

Moses omitted to legislate upon this point, there would, undoubtedly, have been a shortcoming in his work. The people, individually, would have been supplied with a code for action: but the king, like an eastern tyrant, would have appeared above all law and without personal duties. It was not to be so with Jehovah's Anointed. Had Moses been silent in this matter, then, the most difficult and responsible of all offices would have been placed beyond the reach or control of the law: and this would have been an anomaly in a legislation, which had defined the minutest particulars of every phase in the civil and religious life of the nation.

So long as the divine legislation was in full action, it was not the kingly, but the prophetic office which best fulfilled the divine purpose. Nor was the kingdom, as subordinate to the Theocracy, at variance with the divine plan regarding Israel; for the legislature would not have recognized an element inconsistent with the theocratical constitution. The sphere of the priesthood is one totally different from that in which the royal authority moves. It was well defined by Josephus, in *Arch.* iii. 8. 1, where he thus describes the functions of Aaron:—*ut sacram Dei stolam indueret, arcæ curam gereret, sacrificiis provideret, preces denique pro populo funderet.* The priesthood was as compatible with the kingdom as with the judicial office, with which it was all but identical, and which, in some sense, became hereditary in the royal dignity. In Judges ix. 22, 23, we read of the Judge *Abimelech*, which signifies *father of the king*; and in 1 Sam. viii. 5, 6, the people ask: "Now make us a king to *judge* us like all the nations." If, as in the case of Eli, it happened that the judicial functions were united with those of the high priest, it was only because the former were badly represented, or because there was an overreaching through human infirmity. The kingdom, thus made possible, was not, however, without its dangers, as appears from the law before us

in Deut. xvii. Yet the kind of rule under Moses and the Judges was not without peril. This is especially true when extraordinary persons, such as Moses and Joshua, gave place to ordinary ones; since upstarts, like Abimelech, Judges ix., may prove more mischievous than those who are, at least born, although not gifted to reign; especially in a nation which, according to its very genesis, was not to be autocratical, but theocratical.

If the kingly office had been an evil and, as such, incompatible with Theocracy, it would not have been permitted; nor would the fearless prophets have been the most strenuous supporters of the kingdom. Isaiah, Micah, and Hosea, although alive to all the perils of a regal power, knew of no restoration of the national life, without a restoration of the kingdom. See Hos. iii. 5. Micah iv. 8; v. 1, &c.; Is. ix. 1, &c.; xi. 1. Jeremiah speaks of the king:—"the breath of our nostrils, the Anointed of the Lord was taken in their pits, of whom we said, under his shadow we shall live among the heathen." Lam. iv. 20. See also Zach. iv. vi. Gen. xvii. 6. xxxv. ii.; xlix. 10. Even for those to whom these promises are merely *vaticina post eventum*, they must be expressions of what was thought of the kingdom in Israel as an institution.

The royal office was indeed allowed, not commanded; and with this fact its late origin, and Samuel's opposition on its first being proposed, are perfectly compatible. The liberty of action, allowed to Israel, made them responsible for the evils that might possibly arise from it. It was, in short, with the kingdom as with the building of the temple: both were good in themselves, yet not good under all circumstances; and as God would not accept of the latter before the time, 2 Sam. vii., as little could He approve of the former under unfavourable circumstances. It was not good, for instance, that Gideon, with his many wives, Judges viii. 30,

and his wicked sons, ix. 2, and his ephod set up at Ophrah, should be chosen king over Israel.

Samuel's objection, upon which so much weight is laid, is evidently of a personal character: he himself felt rejected as their judge, by their asking for a king to *judge* them. See 1 Sam. viii. 5—8. They demanded a security against Samuel and against his sons. And who would deny that the writer of 1 Sam. viii. 5, refers to Deut. xvii. 14? Again, the words in 1 Sam. x. 24:—"See ye him whom the Lord hath chosen," bear strongly upon Deut. xvii. 15:—"Thou shalt in any wise set him king over you, whom the Lord thy God shall choose."

15. Further evidence of a later origin of Deuteronomy is supposed to exist in the statement respecting the *income* of the *priests* and *Levites*. Treating of the Fifth Commandment the Deuteronomist in chap. xviii. 1—8, points out the way in which these servants of God should be *honoured*, by the people giving to them of their substance over and above what God had already secured to them: verse 1, 2. Hence the significant expression in verse 3, "This shall be the priest's due *from the people*."

If the shoulder, the two cheeks and the maw here named are therefore *special* offerings, not those prescribed in Ex. xxix. 27; Lev. vii. 34; x. 14; Num. vi. 20, xviii. 18, there can be no difference of legislation. The items here named are always spoken of as belonging to God, but the people were to give of their own, besides what God gave to His servants. He does not abolish the tithes, for these are styled in verse 1, "his, *i.e.*, God's inheritance."

Dr. Colenso says, p. 514 of his book:—"It seems probable that the more moderate provision was thought to be more suitable to the circumstances of the times in which the Deuteronomist lived;" but is it likely that the tithes,

times in which the Deuteronomist lived ;” but is it likely that the tithes, which formed the more substantial income of the priesthood, and by which the people acknowledged Jehovah, as the rightful proprietor of the soil, could have been at any time withdrawn? Passages like Deut. x. 9, and xviii. 2, imply more than would have remained to the Levites, had the tithes been taken away. The promise that God would be their inheritance would have sounded ironical ; it would have reflected dishonour upon Jehovah, had He proved so poor an inheritance to His servants.

As regards the relation of the priests and Levites to each other, we observe that Deuteronomy—as we should expect from its being written after Aaron’s death—brings both classes more under one and the same point of view : this is apparent from the above-named passage in Deut. xviii. as well as from x. 8. If the intention of the Fifth Commandment was to ensure the same parental honour and respect to the Levites—who in a worldly sense had indeed deserved such, by the stand they made for God, see Ex. xxxii. 26 and Deut. xxxii. 8—it was natural to insist on their being an essential portion of the priesthood, though in a subordinate position. Their ministrations are dignified with the same expressions as are applied to the priests ; Deut. xviii. 7, with which compare verse 5 ; xxi. 5, and Num. xvi. 9, 10 ; viii. 11, 19.

With this view of raising the Levites in the esteem of the nation, for which the Deuteronomist doubtless saw cause, he no longer calls them simply “sons of Aaron,” as heretofore, but “sons of Levi ; although, according to Schultz, who had the text of the *Biblia Heb.* of *Michaelis* before him, the addition of “sons of Aaron” occurs even in Deut. xxi. 5.

That term “sons of Levi” should come to be more frequently used in Deuteronomy, and that of “the sons of Aaron” disappear in the *usus lingue*, is to be accounted for from other

reasons. Whilst Aaron was alive, his sons were naturally called after him, but when he with his sons had departed, the *tribal* name naturally took the predominance. Had the reverse been the case, it would have given cause for a remark. Yet, to say with Dr. Colenso, p. 395, that in the first four books the "priests are *always* styled the sons of Aaron, Lev. i. 5, 7, 8. 11, ii. 2, iii. 2, xiii. 2, Num. x. 8, comp. Lev. xxi. 21, and never the sons of Levi," is to make a false statement. Let that critic turn, for instance, to Num. xvi 7, 8, and confess his error. Here indeed the term, "sons of Levi" permanently supersedes that of "sons of Aaron, so that the latter was actually discontinued before Aaron's death was recorded.

Still more flagrant is the dictum, that it was "impossible to believe that any writer, whether Moses, or any other should have so suddenly changed his form of expression, in such a case as this, in the very short interval of a few days or weeks, at most, between the last act recorded in the book of Numbers and the first of Deuteronomy." *The latest instance of the term "sons of Aaron," occurs in Num. x. 8, and the date in verse 11, follows, "the 20th day of the second month of the second year."* As the book of Deuteronomy begins with the date of the "fortieth year in the eleventh month," it is clear that between the two phrases "sons of Aaron," and "sons of Levi," there intervenes, the space not of "a few days or weeks," as Dr. Colenso inadvertently asserts, but the long space of thirty-eight years! Considering, therefore, that such a long time had elapsed and such changes had taken place, it would have been strange, if the author had continued using the term, the "sons of Aaron."

16. If it be asserted that the Deuteronomist employs a different word for "*possession*," from the other books, we must remember that Deuteronomy was written on the borders of Palestine; and in travelling from Egypt to Palestine, I

have been under the necessity of acquiring a fresh name for even so ordinary an article as bread, though Arabic is the common language in both countries. Even in passing through Italy, from south to north, new terms had to be learned for the same idea or object. What is said of possession " may be said of *shor*, for *bullock*. But it is bad faith to make it appear that *shor* for bullock in Deuteronomy had not been used in the previous books. See Gen. xxxii. 6; Ex. xxxiv. 13; Num. xviii. 17; xlix. 28. (110)

Considering the space of forty years, and the many hundred miles, which may lie between these books; considering moreover the altered scenes and circumstances, together with the different scope and object of the various books; also the local influences and intercommunications with various nations in succession, it must be a matter of great surprise, that not more than thirty-three expressions can be pointed out as peculiar to Deuteronomy.

But to show the truly frivolous nature of this criticism we may add, that some of these characteristic expressions are said to be like the following:—"land of Moab;" "go in and possess;" "that they may learn to fear the Lord;" "out of the midst of the fire;" "words of this law;" "that Jehovah thy God may bless thee;" "work of the hands;" "with all thy heart and with all thy soul;" "walk in the ways of the Lord;" "forget the Lord;" "abomination to the Lord;" "which thou knowest not;" "a blessing and a curse!"

17. When the book of Deuteronomy, or the entire Pentateuch shall be proved not to be the work of Moses, nor the product of the Mosaic age in which it professes to have been written, then, and not till then, the real difficulties of Biblical Criticism begin. There is no possible clue to its having been forged. The book flatters neither the people, the priests, nor the governors. The laws are of a most burthensome nature, so as to render it far more likely that the record of them should have been ten times destroyed, rather than once forged:

for history abounds with evidence of a perpetual tendency to evade its claims and to disregard its authority. Submission to such laws can only be intelligible upon assumption that the facts recorded were believed to be true.

If the uncritical credulity of antiquity be alleged, we reply that belief in the Mosaic law was one which affected the entire basis of the national life of the Jews, in its religious, civil, moral, and judicial relations. Those were days of facts, not of dreamy speculations. And lest this should appear vague, we offer proof that antiquity was not so unripe for critical acumen as is assumed.

There were no such grave considerations implied in the authenticity of the works of Homer as in that of the Pentateuch: yet Herodotus expressed his doubts upon the subject, and performed the duties of a critic. Nor must it be thought that these critical operations were confined to the learned among the civilised ancients. Pausanias speaks of the Boeotians as discussing the question whether there had been no foul play in the works ascribed to Hesiod. (111) Antiquity was, therefore, not devoid of all power to discriminate between true and false; and though often misled, common sense was sure to make a stand.

Among the Jews we notice a tendency to forge only when the canon of sacred Literature was partially closed, not in the beginning. Both in the Old and New Testament days, the symptoms of forgery followed in the rear, for the counterfeit necessarily follows the genuine article.

When a nation is split into various religious and political factions, the time is peculiarly unfavourable for the purpose of forging a book. This is specially applicable to the Jewish nation. But amidst all their disputations, the authenticity or authority of the Pentateuch was never called in question; Pharisees and Sadducees, together with the still older Samaritans, held fast by this book, as their centre of union.

18. The post-Mosaic history of the Jews everywhere takes

the written not the traditional, Torah for granted. Whence could we otherwise explain the absence of any trace of the gradual formation of *jus civilis*, which is so distinctly marked in the history of other nations? The Roman law, *e.g.*, since first written on twelve tables, went through the most tedious process, till at last deemed sufficiently ripe for codification under the emperors.

In Israel, on the contrary, from the days of the *Judges*, who are nowhere represented to have framed their own laws, there exists an authoritatively instituted and finished code of divine laws; *Judges* iii. 4. No account exists, *e.g.*, of the origin of tithes, of the Jubilee periods, or the cities of refuge. The origin of the kingdom is described in a manner indicating an acquaintance with the Deuteronomistic laws respecting the king. David, Solomon, and Hezekiah are named as enriching the ritual, but there is no trace of any legislation on their part connected with any one item of the sanctuary, the priesthood, or the offerings. All is assumed to be in force, from times immemorial.

Since then, the law is nowhere represented as growing to maturity in the post-Mosaic history, but appears from the first promulgation complete, it must have existed, not in a traditional, but in a written form. During the time of the *Judges* and the *Kings*, it often lay hid for centuries, see 2 Chron. xxx. 26; 2 Kings xxiii. 22; 2 Chron. xxxv. 18; Jer. xxxiv. 13; Neh. viii. 17. But again and again it was brought forth to assert its claim, and to exercise its divine authority. This was the case under Josiah, when Hilkiah discovered the book of the law in the temple; 2 Kings xxii. and 2 Chron. xxxiv.

It has been justly observed by Dr. Delitzsch that modern Biblical Criticism never sinned more grievously against truth, than by the perversion of history in representing the Torah as only then for the first time brought to light. Yet this

lie, first broached in the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies, is now re-published without a blush by an Anglican Prelate! If the testimony in 2 Kings xxii. and 2 Chron. xxxiv. possess any historical value in the eyes of these pseudo-critics, it surely proves that the book, on being discovered, was recognised at once, as a book already known.

Again, Hengstenberg has shown that the Torah existed in writing at the time of the separation of the Jewish polity into two kingdoms; and proved that without it, the religious complexion would have been different from what it was. It is of the same Ephraim that Jehovah says, in Hos. viii. 12:—"I have written to him myriads of my laws, but they were counted strange," *i.e.*, he regarded them not. Had this Torah been forged in the kingdom of Judah, during its better days, and before the division, would not Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, have discovered the imposition and justified his idolatry?

Again, going further back for about seven hundred years, the Torah could no more have originated in the days of the Judges than the Gospel could have been written in the middle ages. Leo, in his *Universal Geschichte* i. p. 570 says:—"Man sieht der verhältnissmässigen Dürftigkeit der Aufzeichnungen im Buche der Richter an, dass diess unmöglich war." Samuel appears in a dark age, and instead of being strictly guided by the law—which some think he was the first to collect into a written code—he seems rather to have exempted his own person from its precepts. Thus, he was both prophet and Judge, though not of the tribe of Levi, on several occasions he performed the functions of the priest. On the other hand, in the days of David and Solomon, so rich in literary productions, there is no trace of the Torah having then been written; whilst the divergencies from the Mosaic tabernacle in the construction of the temple, directly negative the assumption.

Again, were the Torah a collection of laws similar to the

Codex Justinianus, we might take it to be the work of an exile like Ezra; but it is, on the contrary, the historical record of events from the days of the legislation, which could not have been preserved intact to that late period. Ezra, moreover, like Luther, was a reformer, he brought the *written* law once more into honour; and as Luther produced the Bible in the vulgar tongue, so Ezra, according to the Jewish legend, became the *instaurator* of the Thorah, by putting the sacred Hebrew text into Assyrian letters; that being the only writing known at that period to the returned exiles.

The post-Mosaic *Literature* affords equal proof of the priority of the Thorah in its present *written* form. Those critics who assert the late origin of the Pentateuch, must grapple with this difficulty, *i.e.*, that out of every age to which they might feel inclined to transfer its origin, we possess certain specimens of the sacred Hebrew Literature with which they cannot possibly be associated as of the same date. Until, therefore, the critics can agree among themselves as to the date in which the Pentateuch was forged; and until such a translation from its reputed author and its reputed age, to another author and another age, shall be unaccompanied by less numerous grave difficulties, or by any more telling evidence than has yet been offered, the objections must be considered utterly without weight or value.

Every unprepossessed reader of the books of the Old Testament will see—as shown in note 18—that each single book of the post-Mosaic Hebrew Literature has grown up, like the Psalms of David, by the side of the waterbrooks of the Thorah; and that all history, prophecy, poetry, and *Chokma* or philosophy, in Israel, are rooted and grounded in the Pentateuch.

In the next volume we hope to turn to the first eleven chapters of the book of Genesis, descending, as Gregory Nazianzen expresses it, “*to Moses, the ocean of Theology, the source, so to speak, of all rivers, and of every sea.*”

NOTES.

1 (page 6). Many excellent ideas in this first chapter have been transferred from Auberlen's *Göttliche Offenbarung*, Band i., p. 172. Basel. 1861.

2 (page 7). Hundershagen, der Protestantismus, pp. 11—53. 1847. De Potter, vie de Scipio Ricci, tom. i., p. 115, ed. ii., mentions the case of two nuns in Toscana who denied :—"que Moïse et les autres auteurs des livres, qui composent la sainte Bible, fussent plus dignes de consideration, qu'un Plutarque, par exemple, ou quelque autre écrivain profane."

3 (page 12). Baron von Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, p. xlv.

4 (page 17). Calvin to Gen. vi. 14 :—"Hoc Porphyrius vel quispiam alius canis, fabulosum esse obganniet, quia non apparet ratio, vel quia est insolitum, vel quia repugnat communis ordo naturæ. Ego regero contra, totam hanc Mosis narrationem, nisi miraculis referta esset, frigidam et jejunam et ridiculam fore dico." To Gen. xlix. 1, he says :—"Sed oblatrant quidam protervi canes : unde Mosi notitia sermonis in obscure tugurio ante ducentos annos habitus?"

5 (page 17). Josephus contra Apion i. 1—14 ; ii. 2—15.

6 (page 17). Origen contra Cels., lib. iv. 42 :—ὁ Μωϋσέως *ῥηται* *εἶναι τὴν γραφὴν, ἀλλὰ τινων πλειόνων.*

7 (page 18). Joannes Damascenus de Hæres. § 19.

8 (page 18). Neander, Church History, vol. ii., p. 27—28. Edin. 1847.

9 (page 18). Ptolemæus ad Floram apud Epiphanium hæres xxxiii. 3 :—Ὁ σύμπας ἐκεῖνος νόμος ὁ περιεχόμενος τῇ Μωσέως Πεντατεύχῳ οὐ πρὸς ἐνὸς τινος νομοθέτηται, λέγω δὲ ὅτι ὑπὸ μόνου θεοῦ.—διαίρεται δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν Μωσέα, ὃν καθὰ αὐτὸς δι' αὐτοῦ νομοθετεῖ ὁ θεὸς, ἀλλὰ καθὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας ἐννοίας ὁρμώμενος, καὶ ὁ Μωσὴς ἐνομοθέτησέ τινα· καὶ εἰς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τοῦ λαοῦ διαίρεται, οἱ πρῶτοι ἐνρίζονται ἐντολάς τινας ἐνθέντες ἰδίας.

10 (page 18). Hieronymus contra Helvid. T. iv., § 2, p. 134 :—"Sive Mosen dicere volueris auctorem Pentateuchi, sive Esram ejusdem instauratorem operis, non recuso." See also Tertull. de cultu Feminarum, cap. iii.

11 (page 18). Carlstadt de scripturis canonicis 1521 :—"Defendi potest, Mosen non fuisse scriptorem quinque librorum : ista de morte Mosis nemo nisi plane dementissimus Mosi velut auctori tribuet." Also :—Masius Comment. in Jos. 1574. Præf. p. 2., ad cap. x. 13 ; ad cap. xix. 47.

12 (page 18). Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan, or the Matter, Form and Power of a Commonwealth, eccles. and civil, cap. xxxiii. 1651. Works ed. Molesworth, vol. iii., p. 369. 1839.

13 (page 18). Refuted by Heidegger, Exercitationes Bibl., vol. i., p. 246. Witsius, Miscell. Sac., lib. i., p. 103. Carpzow Introduc., vol. i., pp. 38, 57, 63.

14 (page 18). Clericus, Sentimens de quelques Theologiens de Hollande, etc., 1685. Recalled : in Dissert. iii., de scriptore Pent. Mose ejusque consilio, attached to his Comm., 1693. He says here : "Sed cum perspicue probatum dederimus, necesse esse ut fere totum Pentateuchum a Mose scriptum agnoscat, nulla causa est cur eos libros ei non tribuamus."

15 (page 19). Dr. Colenso's Critical Exam. of the Pent. and the Book of Joshua. Parts i., ii., iii., iv. 1862, 1863. Voltaire's Questions, s. l'Encyclopedie, § 127.

16 (page 20). Prof. de Wette, Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das Alte Test., p. 185, Ed. v. 1840 :—"Wenn eine Geschichtserzählung ohne kritische Forschung (*isotopia*), nach religiös-poetischen Ideen behandelt, episch ist, so kann man den Pentateuch das theokratische Epos der Israeliten nennen, ohne damit die historische Grundlage desselben zu leugnen."

17 (page 22). The objection of Le Clerc, that Christ and His Apostles had not come to teach men criticism in his *Sentimens de quelque Theolog.*, p. 126, was well met by Witsius Miscell. Sac. i., p. 117 :—"Enim vero non fuere Christus et Apostoli critices doctores, quales se haberi postulant, qui hodie sibi regnum literarum in quavis vindicant scientia ; fuerunt tamen doctores veritatis, neque passi sunt sibi per communem ignorantiam aut procerum astum imponi. Non certe in mundum venere ut vulgares errores foverent, suaque auctoritate munirent, nec per Judæos solum sed et populos unice a se pendentes longe lateque spargerent."

18 (page 22). *Moses* :—see Ex. iii. 6, 15, 16 ; iv. 5 ; vi. 3, 4 ; xv. 1—20 ; xxxii. 11—13. *Joshua* :—Josh. i., xxii ; xxiii., xxiv. *David* :—1 Sam. xii. 2—18 ; 2 Sam. xxii. 1, 2—18 ; 1 Kings ii. 3, 4 ; Psalm xix.

8—12; xxii. 5; lxviii. 8, 9, 17; lxxvii. 12—20; lxxviii.; lxxxi.; lxxxv.; lxxxix. 11, 12; xc.; xcvi. 3—11; xcvi. 5; xcix. 6—8; cii. 25; ciii. 7, 8; cvi.; cvi.; cxix.; cxxxvi. 5—26; cxliii. 5; cxlv.; cxlvi. 4, 6; cxlvii. 19, 20. *Jonah*:—i. 9; iv. 2. *Amos*:—iii. 1; iv. 10, 11, 13; v. 8, 25, 26. *Joel*:—i. 2; ii. 13; iii. 16. *Hosea*:—Hos. i. 10; ii. 15; iii. 5; vi. 6; ix. 9, 10; xii. 3—7, 13, 14; xiii. 4—6, 10. *Isaiah*:—Is. i. 2, 9, 10, 19, 23; ix. 4, 7, 21; xi. 1, 10, 16; xii. 2; xiii. 10, 19; xiv. 32; xxiv. 18; xxvi. 1—3, 8, 16; xxviii. 21; xxx. 17, 29; xxxiv. 16; xxxvii. 27; xl. 8, 21, 22; xli. 8—10; xliii. 2, 16, 17; xlv. 5, 7; xlviii. 17, 19, 21; xlix. 6; l. 2; li. 1, 2, 9, 10; lii. 4, 10, 12; liii. rests altogether upon the first promise of a Saviour, and the typical sacrifices as contained in the Pentateuch; liv. 9; lv. 3, 4; lix. 1, 4, 10; lxiii. 7—19; lxiv. 3, 9; lxvi. 1, 2. *Micah*:—i. 15; iv. 1, 4; vi. 4, 5, 8, 15; vii. 18—20; *Nahum*:—i. 2—7. *Zephaniah*:—i. 13; ii. 9; iii. 9, 12. *Habakkuk*: ii. 14; iii. 3—13, 18, 19. *Jeremiah*:—ii. 6, 7, 11, 13, 19, 28, 29, 35; iii. 1, 12; iv. 4, 22; v. 3, 21, 24, 28; vi. 19, 22; vii. 6, 7, 12, 14, 22—25; ix. 13, 24; xv. 16; xvii. 5—8, 10, 11, 27; xix. 9; xxi. 8; xxii. 3, 4, 13; xxiii. 5, 6, 14; xxv. 5, 6; xxvi. 6; xxix. 3; xxxi. 32—35; xxxii. 18, 20—23, 30, 35, 38; xxxiii. 2, 14—17, 22—26; xxxiv. 9, 13—18; xxxvii. 5; xlv. 3; xlix. 18; l. 40; li. 10, 14—17. *Lamentations*:—ii. 17, 20; iii. 10, 24, 25, 32, 42, 64; iv. 6, 10; v. 7, 12, 20. *Ezekiel*:—iv. 6; v. 10; vii. 22; xiv. 14, 20, 21; xvi. 46—51, 60; xx. 5—31, 36; xxii. 7, 8, 10, 11, 12; xxxvii. 24—26; xliii. 13—27; xlv. 15—31; xlv.; xlv.; xlvii.; xlviii. *Daniel*:—i. 8; ii. 23; iii. 18; ix. 2, 11, 15. *Haggai*:—i. 6; ii. 6, 8, 13. *Zechariah*:—i. 2—6; iii. 8, 10; vi. 12, 13; vii. 7—14; viii. 8, 12, 13, 22, 23; ix. 10; x. 1; xii. 10. *Malachi*:—i. 2, 3, 6, 7, 8; ii. 2, 3, 10, 15; iii. 6; iv. 1. The above are placed chronologically.

19 (page 23). Plato's Republic, translated by Davies and Vaughan; and that by Henry Davis have both been used.

20 (page 30). De Wette's Einleitung in das Alte Test., pp. 185—187.

21 (page 45). Tertull. advers. Hermogenem, cap. iii., Ed. Sem., tom. ii., p. 61. Hengstenberg i. 181.

22 (page 45). Aug. de Genesi ad literam, lib. viii., cap. ii., Ed. Bened. Cler., tom. iii., p. 176.

23 (page 45). The LXX. in rendering קִיָּי by κύριος, dominus, gave simply the version of קִיָּי which Jewish superstition substituted for קִיָּי. Hengstenberg, Die Authentie des Pentateuches, vol. i. 182, 1836.

24 (page 45). Chrysostomus in Gen. Opp., tom. ii., p. 119:—καὶ ἔλαβέ, φησιν, ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃν ἔπλασε. Καλῶς ἐνθῶς ἐκ προοιμίων τὰ δύο τέθεικεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔπει κύριος καὶ ἐστίγησεν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἔθηκε κύριος ὁ θεός, λαμβάνον τι καὶ κεκρυμμένον ἐντεῦθεν ἡμᾶς διδάσκων, ἵνα εἰδέναι ἔχωμεν, ὅτι καὶ τε κύριον ἀκούσωμεν, κἀντε θεόν, οὐδεμία ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἐστι διαφορά. — — διὰ τοῦτα καὶ ἀδιαφόρος ἡ γραφή τούτοις

κέχρηται τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ἵνα μὴ ἐξῇ τοῖς φιλονείκως διακειμένοις τὸ ἐξ δικίας ὑπονοίας ἐπεισφέρειν τῇ τῶν δογμάτων ὀρθότητι.

25 (page 46). Pet. Lombard. Sentent, lib. i., dist. 2; Cosri (R. Jehudah Hallevi), p. 256, Ed. Bux.; Maimonides More Neb., p. 106; Heng. i. 186; Abarbanel apud Buxtorf i., p. 266.

26 (page 46). Astruc, Conjectures sur les mémoires originaux dont il paroît, que Moyse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genèse. Brüssel, 1753.

27 (page 49). Delitzsch, Commentar über die Genesis. Ed. iii., 1860, pp. 45, 46.

28 (page 49). הָיָה is the regularly formed future Kal of the verb הָיָה, an obsolete form of הָיָה, to be. Its Semitic origin is established. The proper vowels are הָיָה or הָיָה, which are both grammatically possible. 'Iaβè is, according to Origen, the way of pronouncing הָיָה with the Samaritans, who write it in Arabic ^{هـ}يـاـبـهـ, but not that of the Jews. Theodoret quest. in Ex., No. 15 : καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ Σαμαρεῖται μὲν 'Iaβέ, 'Ιουδαῖοι δὲ 'Αἰά.

29 (page 49). The word הָיָה, according to Hengstenberg, Havernick, Sack, Nitzsch, Schelling, Delitzsch, Keil, and Hoffmann, is the plural of הָיָה, which last is only used in poetry; and comes not from הָיָה, to be strong, but is a *nom. infinit.* from הָיָה with the sense of the Arabic ^{أَلِهَا} *alīha* ^{أَلَّ} *alā*, to fear; ^{أَلَّ} *alā*, to honour, i.e., God, like ^{عَبَدَ} *ʿabd*. As *nom. inf.*, in this sense הָיָה signifies terror, fear. Then the object of the fear, the Majesty Divine:—Gen. xxxi. 42, 53; Ps. lxxvi. 12; Isa. viii. 12; cfr. 2 Thess. ii. 4. The plural, *pluralis magnitudinis*. Delitzsch says beautifully as regards the plural form:—"Man darf nicht sagen ohne den Unterschied beider Testamente zu verwischen: אלהים ist *pluralis trinitatis*, aber man sagt vollkommen richtig: die *trinitatis* ist die im Neuen Testament offenbar gewordene *pluralitas* von אלהים."

30 (page 56). הָיָה emphatically and intentionally superseded by הָיָה, to which הָיָה is the *accusativus* of definition. Ez. xx. 9; xxxviii. 23.

31 (page 56). Compare הָיָה with הָיָה הָיָה, I shall be with thee, Ez. iii. 12; and הָיָה הָיָה הָיָה, I am that I am, in verse 14.

32 (page 57). Colenso's Crit. Exam. of the Pent., pp. 357, 234.

33 (page 60). Hupfeld; Commentar über die Psalmen, Band iv., p. 461.

34 (page 60). Colenso, Crit. Exam. of the Pent., ii., p. 317.

35 (page 67). THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL :—

| Dates and Names. | God the Father. | | | God the Son. | | | God the Holy Ghost. | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------|-------|---------|--------------|---------|-------|---------------------|-------|-------------|
| | God. | Lord. | Father. | Jesus. | Christ. | Lord. | The Spirit. | Lord. | Holy Ghost. |
| A.D. | | | | | | | | | |
| 52 Galatians | 31 | 0 | 12 | 17 | 41 | 6 | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| 52 1 Thessalonians | 38 | 8 | 5 | 17 | 15 | 17 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| 52 2 Thessalonians | 18 | 9 | 3 | 12 | 13 | 12 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 56 1 Corinthians | 100 | 32 | 2 | 27 | 69 | 15 | 19 | 0 | 3 |
| 57 2 Corinthians | 61 | 7 | 5 | 20 | 49 | 9 | 6 | 1 | 1 |
| 58 Romans | 164 | 20 | 3 | 33 | 63 | 18 | 20 | 0 | 5 |
| 61 Ephesians | 31 | 8 | 8 | 18 | 46 | 20 | 11 | 0 | 0 |
| 62 Philippians | 16 | 0 | 2 | 23 | 42 | 14 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 62 Colossians | 20 | 6 | 10 | 6 | 24 | 7 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 62 Philemon | 2 | 3 | 1 | 7 | 7 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 63 Hebrews | 72 | 15 | 2 | 14 | 13 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 5 |
| 64 1 Timothy | 22 | 2 | 1 | 14 | 16 | 7 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 64 Titus | 13 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 65 2 Timothy | 14 | 8 | 1 | 14 | 15 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | 602 | 118 | 56 | 226 | 327 | 154 | 71 | 2 | 19 |
| WRITINGS OF ST. JOHN :— | | | | | | | | | |
| 69 1 St. John | 64 | 0 | 12 | 11 | 10 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 1 |
| 69 2 St. John | 4 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 69 3 St. John | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 96 Revelation | 98 | 17 | 4 | 14 | 11 | 6 | 11 | 0 | 0 |
| 97 Gospel | 84 | 4 | 121 | 250 | 27 | 37 | 11 | 0 | 5 |
| Total | 252 | 25 | 137 | 277 | 52 | 44 | 27 | 0 | 6 |

36 (page 68). Already Calvin hinted the right view, when he says :—

“Consilium Mosis fuit penitus animis nostris infigere cœli et terræ originem, quam generationis voce designat. Fuerunt enim semper ingrati homines et maligni, qui vel mundum æternum fingendo, vel creationis memoriam tollendo gloriam Dei obruerent. Quare non est supervacua repetitio, quæ rem adeo necessariam inculcat, mundum exstitisse ex quo conditus est, &c.” Ranke i., 162.

37 (page 68). הוֹלֵדוֹת *pluralis* from הוֹלֵד. The last is a hifil noun from הוֹלֵד. Tholedoth only occurs in *status construct.* or with *suffixa*; and signifies the genealogical posterity of some one; the historical development of a given beginning. Delitzsch, p. 133; Keil Comment., vol. i., p. 33.

38 (page 69). *Tholedoth* i., of the heavens and the earth; Gen. ii. 4;

iv. 25. ii., Of Adam, cap. v.; vi. 8. iii., Of Noah, cap. vi. 9; ix. 4. iv., Of the sons of Noah, cap. x.; xi. 9. v., Of Shem, cap. xi. 10—26. vi., Of Terah, cap. xi. 27; xxv. 11. vii., Of Ishmael, cap. xxv. 12—18. viii., Of Isaac, cap. xxxv. 19; xxxvi. ix., Of Esau, cap. xxxvii. x., Of Jacob, cap. xxxviii.—1.

39 (page 70). נָצַח gives place to נָצַר to form, whilst נָצַח occurs in both chapters; chap. i. 7, 16, 25, and ii. 4, 18.

40 (page 71). Ewald's Composition der Genesis, 1823.

41 (page 72). הַיָּצִיר הַבְּרִיאָה are not the same as הַיָּצִיר הַבְּרִיאָה, chap. i. 24, 25; the last being the wild animals. The same as הַיָּצִיר הַבְּרִיאָה requiring culture, differs from the vegetation, Gen. i. The fact that the formation of the animals, Gen. ii. 19, did not succeed the creation of man, was apprehended by the ancients when they translated נָצַח, as *Plusquamperfectum*, which it is not itself; but justified in versions. That the future with *van conversivum* is not always a continuation of action is already clear, ii. 8, 9, with 15. Again, Gen. xii. 1 with xi. 32 and xxiv., 30 with 29. Also xxiv., 61, 27, 24 with verse 23. Deut. xxxi. 8, 9.

42 (page 73). It is clear that the *præterit. hist. cum* ו consecut., such as הִשְׁלַח he sent, and הִבְרִיא and he came; ו נָצַח and he made; ו נָצַר and he formed, cannot be understood of the sequence of time. Keil, p. 47.

43 (page 74). The old divines were evidently misled by the wrongly given *περὶ τὰ περὶ τὰ* of the LXX, taking הִשְׁלַח as if it meant “and of birds which fly,” which would imply that they were made out of water. Both הִשְׁלַח and הִבְרִיא are *Jussives*, standing parallel.

44 (page 74). הִשְׁלַח הַמַּיִם הַיָּבֵשׁ says nothing of the waters bringing forth, but simply, “move shall the waters with movers.” Had it been meant to be causative, we should have the formula הִבְרִיא, let it bring forth, cap. i. 12, 24.

45 (page 74). The γῆ in Gen. i. 1, has been said to include both the *ξηρὰ* and *τὰ ὕδατα*. הָאָרֶץ and הַיָּבֵשׁ have this difference, that the former only refers to the earth-element as earth, the latter implies the water.

45^b (page 76). The argument for the rest of this paragraph follows Keil and Keerl in some parts, but chiefly the masterly treatise of Professor Hoelemann, *Einheit der Schöpfungsberichte*, Leipzig, 1862.

46 (page 95). According to Tuch, Stähelin, De Wette, the Jehovist wrote, vii. 1—10, 16^b; viii. 20—22; ix. 18—27. According to Delitzsch vii. 1—9, 16^b; viii. 20—22, and ix. 18—27. According to Lengerke vii. 1—10, 16^b, 23; viii. 6—12, 14, 15; ix. 18—27. According to Knobel vii. 1—3, 5, 8^a, 16^b; viii. 20—22; ix. 18—27. According to Hupfeld vii. 1—5 (7 and 8 partially), 10, 12, 16^b, 17, 23; viii. 1^b, 2^b, 3^a, 4^a, 6—12, 20—22; ix. 18—29.

47 (page 98). Augustine in his *Questiones* to the Heptateuch, tom. iii., p. 287, Ant., says:—

"Per recapitulationem ostenditur, vivo Tharra locutum esse Dominum; et Abraham vivo patre suo secundum præceptum Domini exiisse de Charran, cum esset septuaginta quinque annorum, centesimo et quadragésimo quinto anno vitæ patris sui, si dies vitæ patris anni ducenti quinque fuerunt: ut ideo scriptum sit: Fuerunt anni vitæ Tharræ ducenti quinque in Charran, quia ibi complevit omnes annos totius vitæ suæ. Solvitur ergo quæstio per recapitulationem, quæ indissolubilis remaneret, si post mortem Tharræ acciperemus locutum esse Dominum ad Abraham ut exiret de Charran, quia non poterat esse adhuc annorum septuaginta quinque, cum pater ejus jam mortuus esset, qui cum septuagesimo ætatis suæ anno genuerat; ut Abraham post mortem patris sui annorum esset centum triginta quinque, si omnes anni patris ejus ducenti quinque fuerunt. Recapitulatio itaque ista si advertatur in scripturis, multas quæstiones solvit, quæ indissolubiles possunt videri."

48 (page 104). Vide Stähelin, Kurtz, p. 153. Knobel, p. 209—213. Havernick, 134—141.

49 (page 105). חַרְרָא, hot springs, sulphur springs at Kallirrhoë, the ancient Lesha x. 19, below Zerka-Main, east of the Dead Sea, where flows a hot stream. That it cannot mean *mules* appears, first, because מִצְרָא only means finding; secondly, Ana only fed asses, not horses, at the same time; thirdly, mules are otherwise called מִרְרָא.

50 (page 106). We refer here to Chardin:—Apud Rosenmüller, vol. i., 63, where it is stated that women change their names more frequently than men. See also Jahn Archæolog., part ii., 281. Michaelis de antiquissima Idumæorum historia, in Potts' Sylloge Commentationum Theolog., t. vi., 210; and Simonis in Onomasticon, V. T., p. 19. Ranke i., 249.

51 (page 106). Drechsler, Einheit der Genesis, p. 251.

52 (page 109). Josephus Antiquit., xii. 2, 3.

53 (page 109). Even Knobel explains the words of Joseph xl. 15, מִצְרָא בְּיָדַי with power secretly carried away, *i.e.*, without the knowledge of my father.

54 (page 110). Josephus Ant., lib. ii., cap. iii. Ranke i., p. 260.

55 (page 111). Calvin says to Gen. xl. 4:—"Clarius autem jam exprimit Moses, carcerem fuisse sub Potipharis imperio. Unde cognoscimus, quod prius dixi, mitigatam fuisse ejus iram, quando nonnisi ex ejus consensu tam clementer egit insularius cum Joseph. Imo nunc Potiphari tribuit Moses illas humanitatis partes, quod fidei Joseph pistorem et pincernam commisit." Clericus says to the same passage:—"Quærent Intt. an hic sit idem præfectus, cui nomen Potiphar, et cui primum venditus fuerat Josephus. Quidam negant, qui non capiunt reconciliatam Josepho Potipharis gratiam, cum ab eo in carcere detineretur. Sed ostendimus ad Cap. superioris vers. 20, qua de causa neque dimitteretur, ut innocentem, dimitti oportuit; neque plecteretur

eo supplicio, quo servum moechum plecti debuisse credibile est. Quamquam in gratiam redierat, et omnibus quæ in carcere fiebant adhibebatur Josephus, rumorum vitandorum causa non dimittebatur."

56 (page 112). Acts vii. 14, ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε like LXX, which have Ex. i., 5, 75, because Gen. xvi. 20, they put after Manasseh and Ephraim, the words:—ἐγένοντο δὲ υἱοὶ Μανασσῆ, οὓς ἔτεκεν αὐτῷ ἡ παλλακὴ ἡ Σύρα, τὸν Μαχίρ· Μαχίρ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Γαλλαάδ. υἱοὶ δὲ Ἐφραΐμ ἀδελφοῦ Μανασσῆ· Σουταλαὰμ καὶ Ταάμ, υἱοὶ δὲ Σουταλαὰμ. Keil Com. i. 271.

57 (page 113). Not מִצְרַיִם; but מִצְרָיִם, Gen. xvi. 26.

58 (page 114). Demetrius apud Euseb. præp., ix, 21, makes him ἐτὼν κη; with this מִצְרַיִם agrees very well. Del., p. 564.

59 (page 114). We say with Hartmann, p. 94. "Quid ergo? Est hic catalogus recensio omnium familiæ Jacobi masculorum, qui geniti vel in Mesopotamia, vel in Canaan, vel in Ægypto sunt, quique vel sine hæredibus mortui, vel capita seu principes familiarum posteritatis Jacobi facti sunt, quod et ex coll. Num. xxvi. 5, sqq., abunde apparet. Quosnam vero ex filiis suis suscepit nepotes in Canaan, quosnam præter filios Josephi in Ægypto, hoc quidem Gen. cap. xvi. non docetur."

60 (page 118). Layard's New Discoveries, p. 281. Delitzsch 69. Colenso ii. 176. Havernick p. 128.

61 (page 121). De Wette called those blessed that could believe what they taught. We are again living in better days.

62 (page 122). Wolf, Prolegomena ad Homer., p. 50, and especially 88, where he says:—"Nusquam vocabulum libri, nusquam scribendi, nusquam lectionis, nusquam literarum; nihil in tot millibus versuum ad lectionem, omnia ad auditionem comparata; nulla pacta aut foedera, nisi coram—; nullus in cippis aut sepulchris titulus, non alia ulla inscriptio; nullus usus scripti in rebus domesticis aut mercatura; nulla geographicæ tabulæ, denique nulli tabellarii, nullæ epistolæ."

63 (page 122). Diodor. iii., cap. 3, 1. cap. 88. Plato de Legg., lib. vii., p. 818. Herod., lib. ii. 36. Heng. 1, p. 44.

64 (page 122). Plutarch de Is. et Osir., p. 379.

65 (page 122). מִסְטָר by the LXX, rightly γραμματεῖς, writers. The Arabic مسطر means exclusively to write. The noun سطر ^{سطر} lineæ, ordo, series. مستطير præfectus et inspector rei, commentariensis qui annotat quæcunque ad rem curandam et gerendam, spectant."

66 (page 126). Herod. ii. 86. Diod. Sic. i. 91. Heng. Egypten, p. 68. Wilkinson Anc. Egypt, vol. v., 459. מִסְטָר signifies the peculiarly constructed θήκη in which, according to Herodotus, the corpse was laid. Lib. ii., cap. 86.

67 (page 127). About the abundance of fish see Diod. Sic., i. 36, 52,

p. 137, says, in respect to the account of the death of Moses :—"Per-
vulgata omnium est confessio, cap. xxxiv., integrum vela ver. 5 saltem
ad finem, ab auctore alio æque tamen *θεοπνεύστῳ*, fuisse perfectum."

78 (page 154). Josephus Antiquit., iv., 8, 12, allows Moses to say :—
*συνελθόντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις δι' ἐτῶν
ἐπτὰ, τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἑορτῆς ἐνστάσης, ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, ἐπὶ βήματος ὑψηλοῦ
σταθεὶς, ἐφ' οὗ γένοιτο ἐξάκουστος, ἀναγινωσκέτω τοὺς νόμους πᾶσι.*

79 (page 154). *כְּפָר* wrongly given in LXX by τὸ δευτερόνομιον τοῦτο
is not *Deuteronomium* but *copy*, and the Talmud takes it as *duplum*,
double-copy. See Maimonides in Meyer ad Seder Olam, p. 153, sq.
The Chaldee gives it *כְּפָר* copy, and the Rabbis explain :—"duplum,
i. e., duos libros legis, unum qui recondatur in dumo gazophylacii ejus
(regis) alterum qui ingrediatur et egrediatur cum ipso." Thus R. Salomo
Jarchi Comm. ad h. l. Ed. Breithaupt.

80 (page 155). How the opinions of the Rabbis differ as regards
Josh. viii. 32, is noted by Abarbanel in Comm. ad h. loc. i., may be
seen from the following quotation from the Latin version of Meyer ad
Seder Olam, p. 157 :—"Refert porro, quod ibi, (super lapides nempe)
scripserit *Mischneh Thorath Mosis*. Interpretes, Deuteronomium
lapidibus inscriptum esse existimant, qui vocetur *Mischne*, *i. e.*, repetitio
legis Mosis. Aliorum autem opinio est, illic a Josua inscripta fuisse
universalia præcepta, juxta ritum auctoris magnarum decisionum, aut
per modum præmonitionum et increpationum. R. Levi ben Gersom,
inscriptam fuisse ait benedictionem et maledictionem, quæ hic pro-
nuntiata refertur. Rectius autem dicitur, hanc scripturam fuisse
Decalogum, quem Moses scripsit in sectione Vaetchanan sive Deute-
ronomii capite quinto. Elige tibi aliquam harum sententiarum. Totum
enim Pentateuchum iis inscriptum fuisse valde est remotum et
absurdum idque eo magis, si septuaginta linguis id factum fuisse
statuatur."

81 (page 155). The passage as translated by Delitzsch himself runs
thus :—"He (the king) shall write for himself, *אֵל מִשְׁנֵה הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת*
into a book. He shall do it for himself, for he is not to use that of his
fathers. *מִשְׁנֵה* only means *מִשְׁנֵה תוֹרָה*. Whence can I know that also the
rest of the Torah? The Scripture gives this to understand, when it
is added, 'to observe all the words of the law.' If this be so, why does
it say, *מִשְׁנֵה תוֹרָה*? Therefore, because the Torah is to be changed.
Others say, on the day of the festival the *מִשְׁנֵה תוֹרָה* alone is read." This
passage from the Sifri is quoted to Tractatus Sota, fol. 41. See Mish. ed
Surenheim iii., p. 268, where we have the following version :—"Legebat
autem ab initio Deut. usque ad *audi Israel*, etc., quæ verba occurrunt
capite sexto, et cum lectione *audi* jungebat sectionem, cap. xi. 13.
וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמָע אֶת הַקּוֹל וְיִשְׁמָע אֶת שְׁמוֹת הַשְּׁמִימִים quia in lectione *audi* continetur susceptio jugi præcep-
torum. Deinde transiliebat et legebat Deut. xiv. 22. *עֲשֵׂה הַעֲשֶׂה*, hinc
transiliebat et legebat Deut. xxvi. 12. *כִּי תִהְיֶה לְעֵשֶׂר* quia erat tempus

collectionis, et donorum pauperum et separationis Trumæ nec non decimarum et quamvis sectio regis veniat inter sectionem Deut. xiv 22, et Deut. xxvi. 12, tamen eas legebat simul, ne fieret interruptio in decimis. Deinceps autem legebat benedictiones et maledictiones quæ sunt susceptiones decretorum et pœnæ Legis. Postea denuo legebat sectionem regis שִׁים עֵלֶךְ מֶלֶךְ, Deut. xvii. 15." How can these formalities with which the king had to read certain sections of the Thorah, on the second day of the feast of tabernacles, be a proof that in the sab. year nothing was generally read in this same feast besides Deuteronomy? The usage may be derived from Deut. xxxi. 10, yet from this in no wise follows that either the ancient or modern Judaism ever restricted the Mosaic command to these readings of the king. Should even some Rabbis have so understood or explained it, yet the passage from the Sifri shows that this was not the ruling idea of either the ancient synagogue or the later Judaism.

82 (page 157). Hartmann, Forschungen über den Pentateuch, p. 538. Von Bohlen, die Genesis historisch-kritisch erläutert, p. xxxviii.

83 (page 158). Barhebræus, Chronicon, Pars iii. See Assemani Bibl. Oriental., p. 248, sq. The title in Syriac is ܡܠܚܝܡܐ.

84 (page 158). Xenoph. Mem. Soc. i., 3, 9. Even Clericus de Sc. Pent. iii., remarks :—" Verum dudum confutati sunt, exemplo Xenophontis, Cæsaris, Josephi (?), aliorumque præstantissimorum historicorum, qui, ipsi de se loquentes, tertia persona perpetuo utuntur."

85 (page 159). Colenso's Pent., Part. ii., p. 221.

86 (page 160). Prof. Stanley's Jewish Church, p. 199. Calvin :—" Hæc parenthesis inserta est, ut sciremus deum non fuisse commotum Mosis querimonia, ut tantopere excandesceret contra Aharonem et Mariam. Dictum fuerat deum audisse, nempe ut pro judicis officio causam susciperet. Nunc subjicitur ultro reos citasse ad suum tribunal, quum nullus delator jus sibi dici postularet. Huc enim spectat elogium mansuetudinis : quasi diceret Moses, se injuriam illam tacitam vorasse, quod pro sua mansuetudine patientiæ legem sibi indiceret."

87 (page 164). Graves on the Pentateuch, vol. i., p. 339.

88 (page 165). Joseph. Antiq. i. 10, 1 :—περὶ Δάμον, οὕτω γὰρ ἡ ἑτέρα, τοῦ Ἰορδάνου προσαγορεύεται πῆγη.

89 (page 166). ܡܠܚܝܡܐ survives probably in the Hoba, about a mile north of Damascus. See Troilo's Reise, p. 584. Keil Comm., i. p. 142.

90 (page 166). The Rabbi. authorities also connecting the second source with Dan, explain ܡܠܚܝܡܐ by פנימם, Paneas, or ܡܠܚܝܡܐ ܕܩܫܝܢ Cæsarea Philippi. Delitzsch, p. 361.

91 (page 166). Abulfeda tab. Syr., p. 155, Ed. Köhler. Ritter, Erdkunde, ii. 435. Hav., p. 256.

92 (page 166). Thenius seeks to convert מלך into מלך, and von Lengerke makes it, מלך דן towards Dan in the wood.

93 (page 166). Vide Kahler, *satura duplex de veris et fictis sacri textu trajectionibus*, Lemgoviae, 1730, p. 4. Simonis *Arcanum formarum*, p. 19. Gesenius *Lehrgebäude der Hebräischen Sprache*, 1817, p. 142, 143. Thus זָעַר, misdeed, becomes זָעָה; אֶלְכָּשִׁים, sandelwood, becomes אֶלְכָּשִׁים; שָׂמָלָה, garment, becomes שָׂמָלָה; אָנָּן, sigh, becomes אָנָּן; in 1 Sam. ii. 33, we have לְהַרְאֵי instead of לְהַרְאֵי. The first of these samples is a case in point. The ץ and י are transposed. In עַי we have the transposition of ץ and י from עַי, eye, fountain.

94 (page 167). The Arabic دان to be lowly, cfr. with the חַחִים, אֶרֶץ, 2 Sam. xxiv. 6. Schultz, 714.

95 (page 169). Michaelis, cap. i., p. 254:—"Hadarem, qui octo illorum Idumaeæ regum postremus fuit, eo tempore quo Moses Pentateuchum suum absolvit, adhuc vixisse, tum ex eo cognoscitur, quod Moses quadragesimo post exitum ex Ægypto anno legatos ad regem quendam Idumaeæ misit, tum ex hoc quod antecedentium quidem regum omnium commemoravit mortem, de ultimi vero hujus regis morte silet, quam proin scribente Mose nondum evenisse oportet." The נָמַר, and he died, is only added in Chronicles when this had taken place.

96 (page 172). Michaelis Supplem. ad Lexic. Heb., p. 1929, first recognized that Omer was not a *measure*. He compares the Arabic غمر, catini sive poculi parvi genus omnium minimum; and continues, "לְמַרְּי proprie ergo nomen *poculi* fuit, quale secum gestare solent Orientales, per deserta iter facientes, ad hauriendam si quam rivus vel fons offerret aquam.—Hoc in poculo, alia vasa non habentes et mannam collegerunt Israelitæ."

97 (page 173). "Hoc enim tropo vult significare Scriptura enormitatem criminum, quod scilicet ipsæ creaturæ irrationales sua creatori semper obediētes et pro illo pugnantes detestentur peccatores tales eosque terra quasi evomat, cum illi expelluntur ab ea." C. a Lap. Quoted Keil's Comm. ii., p. 119.

98 (page 174). In verse 24, אֲנִי פֹשֶׁלָה, which I am casting out. There again we have הַיּוֹם, the plural. But in verse 28, we have נִפְתָּח אֶת־פִּי וְאָמַרְתִּי, as it spued out the nation.

99 (page 176). Colenso's *Pentateuch Critically Ex.*, part iii., p. 620. We here refer the student to the arguments of Schultz in his *Deuteronomium*; whence much valuable matter is to be obtained.

101 (page 180). Deut. iii. 20, we have אֶת־לְבָשֵׁי, and Josh. i. 15, אֶת־לְבָשֵׁי, applied to the regions of the transjordanic tribes. אֶת־לְבָשֵׁי is used Josh. xii. 6, of the western, verse 7, of the eastern shore of Jordan.

102 (page 181). Gesenius *Lehrgebäude der Hebr. Sprache*, p. 769, §. 205, 8 c. He proves that the *Præteritum* or perfect tense, not only embraces the *imperfectum conjunctivi* and the *plusquamperfectum conjunctivi*, but also the *futurum exactum*, Is. iv. 4, אִם־רָחַץ, when the

Lord shall have washed away. Ruth iii. 18, **וַיֵּאָחַז**, until they shall have ended. See also Gen. xxiv. 19, 33 : Ruth iii. 18 : 1 Chron. xvii. 11 : Is. vi. 11 ; xxiv. 13 : Jer. xxxi. 11 : Amos vii. 2. This is the same in Arabic and Syriac.

103 (page 182). Hermon the most southern peak of Antilibanus the present Gebel es Sheikh or **جبل الشيخ** snow mountain. The name not from **קָרַם** curse, but from a root preserved in the Arabic **خرم** *prominens montis vertex*. Judg. iii. 3 ; 1 Chron. v. 23. **בְּעֵי הָרִמֹן** *dominus vertex*. The Israelites in their language called it **רִמֹן** (רִמֹן, the high or lofty one), without Hermon being suppressed. The Sidonian name, **רִמֹן** is the softened pronunciation of **רִמֹן** (1 Sam. xvii. 5) or **רִמֹן** *lorica*, Jer. xli. 4 ; and the Amorite **רִמֹן**, were all given to identify the boundary, as the Israelites must have been puzzled to hear so many names.

104 (page 182). Colenso's Pent. Crit. Ex., ii. 214.

105 (page 183). Michaelis had seen Gilli, a giant of four cubits. On 14th January, 1857, a young man aged twenty, arrived at Berlin as a recruit, who was eight feet four inches. His great uncle was nine inches taller. Schultz Deut., p. 23. Keil ii. 409.

106 (page 183). These are the words:—**וַיִּקְרָא יֵהוּא**, they called them, or they were named Jair ; not as Num. xxxii. 41, **וַיִּקְרָא אֶתְהֵם**, and he called them Jair ; or as Deut. iii. 14, **וַיִּקְרָא אֶתְהֵם**, and he called them after his own name. This has been hitherto overlooked.

107 (page 185). König, Alttestamentliche Stud. Heft i., p. 94, has shown how the term **יָמִים רַבִּים**, many days, is applied to the most different lengths of time. The expression **יָמִים רַבִּים** is likewise a relative term. The contrast seems to be **יָמִים רַבִּים**, at that time, Deut. i. 9 ; xvi. 18 ; iii. 4, 8, 12, 18, and **יָמִים רַבִּים**, iv. 1, and now.

108 (page 191). In Deut. v. 15, the writer continues **וַיִּזְכֹּר**, and remember, not as in Ex. xx. 11, with **זָכַר**. Even **זָכַר**, if not referring to the more distant **זָכַר**, but to **זָכַר**, yet does not declare, that therefore the Sabbath was ordained. Schultz Deut. 271.

109 (page 191). Colenso's Pent. ii. 364.

110 (page 203). Colenso's Pent., part ii. 401.

111 (page 204). Herod. iii., 117 ; iv. 32. Nor were these doubts confined to the polished and enlightened. The *Βιωτῶν* also, according to Pausanias ix., 31, 4, had such sceptics among them. *Βιωτῶν δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα δικοῦντες παρειλημμένα δόξην λέγουσιν, ὡς ἄλλοι Ἡσιόδου ποιῆσαι οὐδὲν ἢ τὰ ἔργα· καὶ τούτων δὲ τὸ ἐς τὰς Μούσας ἀφαιροῦσι προοίμιον, ἀρχὴν τῆς ποιήσεως εἶναι τὸ ἐς τὰς Ἐριδας λέγοντες.*

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